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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the symposium was to exchange experiences in the standardization of national languages in different socio-cultural contexts. Examples of the strategies and results of such experiences in Africa, Latin America, and Europe were presented for discussion. Papers presented at the symposium include the following: "Language Standardization in Mali" (Adama Ouane); "Lexical Innovation in Hausa (Niger, Nigeria)" (J. A. McIntyre); "Standardization and Varieties of Written Hausa (West Africa)" (H. Ekkehard Wolff); "Normalization in Andean Languages" (Rodolfo Cerron-Palomino); "The Standardization of Quechua: Some Problems and Suggestions" (Wolfgang Wolck); "Aspects of Language Planning in Ashaninka (Eastern Peru)" (Thomas Th. Buttner); "A Characterization of Alphabetical Writing Systems" (Xavier Lamuela); "Some Aspects of the Standardization of the Basque Language" (Axel Mahlau); "The State of Codification of Aranese" (Joachim Born); and "Standardization Beyond the State: The Cases of Yiddish, Kurdish and Romani" (Yaron Matras and Gertrud Reershemius). (JL)

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STANDARDIZATION OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

SYMPOSIUM ON LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

2-3 February 1991

edited by
Utta von Gleich and Ekkehard Wolff

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Utta von Gleich and Ekkehard Wolff

Under the auspices of the Graduate Program for the Study of Language Contact and Multilingualism, University of Hamburg and the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg

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Foreword

The International Symposium on Language Standardization was organized by the Research Center for Multilingualism and Language Contact (HAZEMS) and the Graduate Program for the Study of Language Contact and Multilingualism, University of Hamburg, in association with the Unesco Institute for Education (UIE).

The purpose of the Symposium was to exchange experiences in the standardization of national languages in different socio-cultural contexts. Examples of the strategies and results of such experiences in Africa, Latin America and Europe were presented for discussion in research reports.

We should like to express our gratitude to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) - German Research Association - and the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) - German Academic Exchange Service - for the financial support they gave to cover the travel and accommodation expenses of outside speakers. We are grateful to the Unesco Institute for Education for their hospitality in hosting the meeting, and to our colleages at UIE, Peter Sutton and Wilma Gramkow, for their editing and formatting of the manuscripts.

Our thanks are due especially to the authors of the reports, which we are now able to share with a wider public through these Proceedings. We hope that this publication will contribute to the international exchange of experiences, and in particular to the promotion of national languages as media of literacy and education.

Hamburg, October 1991

Utta von Gleich and Ekkehard Wolff
University of Hamburg

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION IN MALI

Adama Ouane
Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg

Language standardization is still to be achieved and remains an ongoing process for countries like Mali, where most of the existing languages did not have a literacy tradition, but have only recently obtained access to writing. The history of the large international languages is full of evidences on how difficult, controversial and even painful sometimes this process is, particularly with respect to the means used to achieve it. Needless to say that the societies shifting now from a predominantly oral system to a written one cannot afford to borrow the same lengthy way. They have to device a new one. This short paper will deal with the attempts made in Mali and the problems faced by linguists and policy-makers.

1. General Context and Linguistic Configuration of the Country

Mali is a huge country which covers more than a million square kilometres and has a population estimated at 7.7 million according to the last 1987 census. The population density is very low. Compared to the majority of African countries, the ethnic texture is not complex. Consequently, the linguistic composition though not identical, is also less complex. Only a dozen of languages form the linguistic atlas of the country. In addition, the mapping of most of the languages listed crosses the boundaries of the country. The arbitrariness of the present African states borderlines is forcefully illustrated by the isoglosses cutting accross several countries. Hence, Bamanan (Bambara, Maninka, Mandingo, Jula) is also spread in Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal); Bomu (Bore, Bo, Bobo) in Burkina Faso; Fulfulde (Fula, Fulani, Peul) in Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal; Hassanya (Arabic) in Mauritania; Songhoy (Sonrhay, Jarma) in Niger; Syena-Mamara (Senufo, Minyanka) in Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire; Tamasheq in Algeria and in Niger.

The limited number of languages does not reduce significantly the tasks to be solved for an appropriate language standardization, taking into account the specificities of individual language units, the cultural relevance attached to the areal distribution of dialects, the social or rather societal acceptance of forms adopted as norms. This ethno-linguistic heterogeneity of the population is accentuated by the consequences of the colonial language policy which has resulted in the predominence of an exoglosic situation, whereby a hitherto foreign language (French) is officiating as an official and national language due to the power position inherited. In such a context, every linguistic issue is to be determined and studied in relation to other dialectal forms, to the co-existing language(s) and their forms, finally to the official language - French.

Any policy of language building should pay due attention to the intricacy resulting from such a linguistic configuration. Besides their number or their mere existence, the role of the different languages, the weight they have within their area of spread and outside, the dynamics and relevance of individual forms are of a crucial and critical importance. Another contextual element worth mentioning, is the need to achieve

literacy and the place to be given to individual languages in instrumentalizing this aim.

It is generally admitted that the following preconditions are essential in order to achieve universal literacy: the promotion of socio-economic conditions helping to implement effectively the work carried out by linguists and educationists; the kind of linguistic work to be done to bring about the emergence of forms and variances most appropriate to the linguistic configuration of the country and most likely to gain a wider acceptance by the speakers and common users; finally, the existence of institutions and agencies to spread and try to obtain acceptance of the proposed forms from the largest proportion possible of the population concerned.

Yet another observation has to be made. Although this article is chiefly concerned with standardization, it will also touch upon certain issues related to graphization and modernization because of their concommittance. *Graphization* as submission of a language to the rules of a written system, and *modernization* as the planned extension of the lexical fund of a language to fit additional functions required, are very closely related to standardization, particularly for languages "in construction".

To the contextual elements influencing the standardization processes should be mentioned the institutions in charge of this mission and their conflicting interests. Three institutions have been entrusted with this mission, which they are sometimes carrying in a competitive and conflicting way. The three centres of influence are formed by the Institut des Sciences Humaines (ISH - Institut of Social Sciences); L'Ecole Normale Superieure (ENSUP - The Teachers Training College); La Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée (DNAFLA - The National Directorate for Functional Literacy and Applied Linguistics); and functioning parallel to these institutions although emanating from them, organized groups of *enthusiastic patriots* fighting for the promotion of their mother-tongues, such as the group BENBA KAN DUNGEW, whose members are mainly coming from ISH and ENSUP. The ISH is the oldest institution with a profile of classical research centre almost without any operational component. The ENSUP though a teacher training body is still concerned more with academic and theoretical treatment of the languages and the linguistic problematic, focusing on the methodological preparation of the would-be teachers. The DNAFLA as the most recent of these institutions was created to assume a policy mission and an operational task. Without giving to DNAFLA the required and corresponding authority, the decree creating this National Directorate stipulated that it should assist in formulating national policy in this field. The implementation of the language policy was to be carried out through adult literacy and research, and try-outs on strategies and content of basic education. The group BENBA KAN DUNGEW is formed by specialists of various horizons pleading for a very pragmatic approach to standardization and moved by the moto *The proof of the pudding is that you can eat it*, attempting thus to codify their own practice.

Although none of these centres of influence played the role comparable to the one played by the GASKIYA CORPORATION for Hausa in Zaria (Nigeria), the involvement of the DNAFLA in operational activities especially in literacy, and the publication of a rural newspapers (*Kibaru* in Bambara, and *Kabaaru* in Fulfulde) equipped DNAFLA with powerful normative tools to lead effectively the standardization policy.

2. Conceptual Framework - What is Required, What is Desirable and What is Feasible?

Except Tifinagh (an intime and almost secret alphabet) for Tamasheq, and the individual use of Arabic character for Fulfulde and Songhoy in certain areas and family, the Malian languages were confronted with alphabets only recently. The starting point for this movement was a UNESCO sponsored experts meeting held in Bamako (Mali) in 1966 to equip six of the major West African languages of regional communication with alphabets. This contextual fact will strenghten the weight of regional factors in the standardization processes of national languages in addition to (or because of) the already mentioned spread of languages beyond states boundaries. From the standpoint of view of graphization, it is generally admitted that an orthographic system has to perform political, socio-cultural, psychological and pedagogical functions. The adequation of a given system devised to serve this purpose, can be judged by the following criteria, as outlined by Jack Berry:

(1) maximum motivation of the learners;
(2) maximum representation of the spoken language;
(3) maximum facility for learning;
(4) maximum transfer;
(5) maximum reproduction. (Berry, 1975)

How to apply these principles in reality is another matter, particularly when this reality is characterized by multilingualism and multiculturalism. Which forms are more relevant and representative of a given language unit to be normalized and codified? Only an intelligent standardization policy can bring an answer to such a situation.

As regards standardization, as a way to normalization, it generally proceeds from a political will of national integration. The co-existing languages are said to play a unifying or dividing role. Therefore, the choice of languages, the choice of dialects and the choice of forms are supposed to assume converging or diverging effects, favouring or impeding the national unification process.

A realistic language building cannot be grounded on an impressionistic view of the linguistic situation, nor can it be a construct of ideas. It should rather stem from an understanding of what is beyond this situation, namely people, community of people, living in given conditions and expressing in particular situation in particular languages. Therefore, despite the existence of compact ethno-linguistic areas, what we have in reality is a mosaic of smaller ethno-linguistic areas. This importance circumstance forces at an initial stage, to reject the idea of politico-administrative division, in general, and the state, in particular, as instrumental in language building. This rejection of the state as an operational unit to depart from does not imply the minimization of its role where its formation is fully achieved. The role of such a state is after all in its stimulating influence on the processes of ethno-linguistic integration and consolidation.

Because of the arbitrary nature of the existing states in West-Africa, only larger regional groupings, taking into account the totality of the radius of the ethno-linguistic areas, could be efficient in solving the problems related to language building in these areas. A key starting element is the idea of a *Communicative Sphere* which can be defined as a historically formed ethno-sociological community characterized

by relatively stable and regular internal communicative links and by its spread in a particular territory (Vinogradov et al., 1984:9). In this category of communicative sphere, as opposed to the notion of ethnic community, there is no limit to its ethnic heterogeneity, removing thus the assumption of a cultural and linguitic unity. The boundaries of the communicative sphere/situation do not coincide either with that of the ethnic community, or with the limits of the area of spread of a given language. However, the communicative sphere is difficult to manipulate as an operational unit in the multilingual situation of Mali and countries having similar or more complex linguistic texture, but it helps to de-tribalize the language building policy. The speeding process of urbanization, and the internal migrations contributing to it, are leading to an intensive de-tribalization, and the acceptance and use of languages for their intrinsic communicative value.

What are the other criteria influencing the standardization process?

- The availability or absence of *established language forms*.
  More important, however, are examples of established and profoundly normalized internal forms which exist in many West-African languages out of the written tradition itself. Of a decisive importance is in this connection the availability or absence, and where available, the nature, scope, etc., of an oral epic tradition.

- The *esteem* towards a language, not the ethnic group.
  The source of positive, neutral or negative assessment are to be found in political, economical and cultural advantages/disadvantages associated with a given language.

- The correspondence or non-correspondence of the *qualitative features of the ethnoi and languages*.
  The communicative situation is strongly influenced by the correspondence or non-correspondence of the qualitative features of the ethnoi and languages; of concrete manifestations of the spacio-territorial spread of ethnoi, on the one hand, and languages, at the other. However, even in the case of correspondence of basic features (e.g. a compact settlement of the ethnos regularly using its mother-tongue), the interaction of social, socio-psychological factors is such that it could result into differing communicative situations. These and similar processes of identical nature show their strong link with processes of intra-linguistic consolidation and inter-ethnic integration.

A very important criteria for judging the communicative adequacy of a given idiom resulting from a normalization process, is its capacity to secure in the communication process the amount of information vital to a given society at a given period.

3. **Formulation of a Language Building Policy**

The language building policy in Mali is characterized by the absence of a clearly defined and fixed legal framework. The lack of such a rigid framework puts linguists and educationists in the forefront of the language policy formulation through research supported action. The basic criteria opted for are more of practical nature. No single language was left out from the field of investigation. Furthermore, the principle of selection and/or imposition were ruled out. The main criteria kept in mind were:
the function of a given language as a medium of communication inter-states, its inter-

ethnic usage, its vehicular function in a given community, the number of its primary and secondary speakers, etc.

The mandate given by policy makers to language specialists was to contribute to elaborate the major orientations of a language policy aiming at:

- saving and promoting the cultural and scientific heritage supported by the local languages;
- defining a policy of using national languages respecting the existing diversity, being concerned with the necessity for national unity;
- studying the different kinds of bilingualism between local languages, and the differences between them and the official language (French);
- establishing a systematic plan of making the employees of the public sector literate in local languages;
- making proposals on the use of national languages in the present education system and in different forms of vocational trainings;
- getting acquaitained with the research and achievements in neighbouring countries.

These goals were translated into *four* major specific objectives:

- the creation of *basic linguistic tools* or infrastructures for each of the languages by equipping them with officially recognized transcription and orthographic rules, basic dictionaries, literacy methods, etc.;
- the study of *language dynamics* leading to the preparation of a linguistic atlas;
- the building up of a *corpus of publications* for each language, and the modernization of these languages which requires the creation of a large terminological data-base for each of them;
- the promotion of the *written usage* of each of the languages.

4. Experiences To Date and the Difficulties Encountred

Autors and writers have significantly contributed to the standardization of many languages around the world. It is a well known fact, that a language gets a particular identity when it is fixed and codified in written form. It also performs many new functions, and follows new organizational forms different from that of its oral counterparts. The standardization of the Malian languages has confirmed this rule. In many literacy centres, the learners were complaining about the differences they have noticed between their idioms and the forms used in the primers and by the animators.

It is worth mentioning selected aspects of the process leading to such a distance between the standard form and the dialects and idioms used by the speakers, despite all the precautions taken and the good will shown in elaborating the norms for the different languages.

As already mentioned, it was decided from the outset not to operate a selection between the languages, but to give rather equal chance of promotion to all of the existing languages. It is obvious that such an approach could have not been adopted towards the different dialects of each of these languages. The need, thus, for a selection. Several issues have arisen regarding the choice of standard dialects and

the codification of norms based on them. Many factors contributed to complicate this process. The degree of dialectalization played a central role.

The *Dogon* language, one of the very rare languages confined to the geographic boundaries of Mali, happened to be the most dialectalized. Many specialists were doubtful about the possibility of finding a standard dialect to be used as a major vehicle for a standardization policy.

The *Fulfulde* language is well known as a typical example of a dispersed language; those speakers are spread between the 15th and 18th degree of latitude North, from the Atlantic to the Baguirmi (Chad) over 4000 Km. It is, therefore, not surprising, on account of such a large territorial extension, to arrive at 11 major dialects: Futa Jalon (Guinea); Fulakunda (Casamance, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau); Futa Toro (Senegal); Macina (Mali); Barani (Burkina Faso); Gourma (Burkina Faso); West-Niger (Niger and part of Nigeria); Benin; Wodabe (Niger); East-Niger (Nigeria); and Adamawa (Cameroon). Needless to say that differentiations exist within these groups. Within the present territory of Mali, besides the Macina dialect and few isolated pockets, two major dialectal areas are to be found, namely Seeno and Futa, which are in fact ramifications of the Senegalese Futa Toro and of the Barani of Burkina Faso.

A series of very complex dialectal surveys was carried out in 1983 for each of the Malian languages using a battery of five measurement instruments:

- an adaptated version of the 200 words from the *lexico-statistic* test proposed by Swadesh and Gudchinsky;
- a *socio-economic* survey of the locality;
- a test of *dialectal intercomprehension* based on a small text and leading questions;
- a *socio-linguistic* test; and
- a *grammatical* questionnaire.

Based on these results, it was possible to find that one of the dialects of the *Dogon* language, namely *Toro So* enjoyed a large degree of intercomprehension and acceptance among other speakers. For the *Fulfulde*, it was natural to select the *Macina* dialect, though it was evident, that Macina as a dialect is rather a metasystem, for it also includes Guimballa, Kunaari, Farimake, Fakala, Jenneeri, Kareeri, Kurumaari, to name its most important variants.

Similar problems are to be found regarding the selection of standards for other languages as well. For one of them, *Soninke*, two dialects opposed by a regular symetric alternance of certain phonological and grammatical forms have been identified, making it impossible to impose the usage of one form to the speakers of the other. For *Syenara-Mamara* and *Bomu*, their dialectal variants spread in Mali, are less productive compared to their counterparts in neighbouring Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire.

As far as the graphic fixation of the languages is concerned, the Latin characters have been adapted in all cases, despite the persistance of the use of Arabic scripts stemming from the already established tradition linked with the Islamic religion. The graphic characters used resulted from the recommendations of the already mentioned Bamako meeting sponsored by Unesco. The actual characters have been amended by several follow-up experts meetings. The changes can be traced by the political decrees

officializing the alphabets and orthographic rules.

In the case of Mali three such documents have been promulgated. The first one was reflecting the outcomes of the 1966 Bamako meeting, the second one was recommended by a national conference held in 1980. This decree reflected the concern for a standardization based on an harmonization worked out on internal linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria. The basic assumption was to give preference to intrinsic linguistic criteria, on the one hand, and to use the same symbols for different languages to represent identical sounds although it was evident that these sounds were reflecting different phonetical and phonological phenomena. This line of harmonization was referred to as *national.*

It was challenged by regional factors, on the one hand, and by one of the concerns expressed to respect the identity of individual languages, at the other. Hence, the need for a change to accomodate regional characteristics. This movement was at the centre of the modifications brought in the third decree on the graphization of local languages. This new line of standardization was referred to as *regional.* An example of regional harmonization of the standardization approach was provided by the *Projet Mandingue-Peul-MAPE* (Ouane, 1991.)

The supra-segmental elements, viz the tonal system and the degree of phonological relevance of vowel opening or closing and of accents posed the greatest challenge to these rules. For instance, aperture is phonological relevant in Bamanan and playing only distributive role in Fulfulde. In addition, Bamanan have a three degree phonological tonal system which, as thought by many specialists, should be graphically discriminated.

The orthographic rules which are still evolving pose yet greater problems, particularly regarding the segmentation of words. A good illustration is contained in the memorandum sent by the group Benba Kan Dungew to the DNAFLA as a reaction to the segmentation rules worked out on the basis of the recommendations formulated by the 1980 National Conference to which the representatives of this group participated and expressed their view, apparently without success. This may explain the ironic tone used to convey their objections to the multiplicity and inconsistency of the rules. After a long enumerations of cases, the group concluded with the following statements:

> "To summarize, one could say, that all cases of tonal compacity should be written in one block, but a long and open list of exceptions ... ."

Further, commenting on another example, the group added:

> "There are three possible ways of reading these words, and four interpretations of their meaning. In trying to avoid confusion, we are increasing the number of rules, thus adding to the confusion." (Benba Ka Dungew 1981:4.)

An important dimension in the standardization process is played by the modernization of the local languages. This refers to the further extension of the language forms and their use in science and technics and in reflecting and expressing new functions. Few basic approaches were kept in mind regarding modernization:

- tape the given language inner resources and structures for any new creation of words and forms;
- before borrowing from the international repertoire,look for local or regional possibilities;
- even the terms borrowed should be naturalized in the flavour of the language concerned.

In one word, language know-how, technics and procedures should prevail while searching for additional elements to face the requirements of modernization. Many difficulties were encountered here, as well. A comparative analysis of the terms proposed and used by different linguistic reseach groups illustrates the diversity of the roads followed and the consolidation of the overall process. Few examples selected from an unpublished article written by Souleymane Kanté and Gerard Galtier on the grammatical vocabulary in Bamanan give a clear indication of this development:

English	Terms used in Literacy	Terms proposed by the Group bamanankan mabèn	Term proposed by the Group of Dioïla	Terms proposed by Souleymane Kanté	Terms proposed by Others
Sound	kan	fòkan	kumakan	mènkan	kumaden
Demonstra-tive	jiralilan	nonajiralan		yidakalan	Kolorili koroya nyomili
Plural	caman	cayaman	caya	jamaya	jamakuluta
Predicative	dèmènan	walelent	walenan	bosolan	
Auxiliary					

One is attempted, linguistically, to accept any of these terms. However, this is not always the case. Sometimes, the technics used to coin new terms can lead to contradictory results. For instance, for such key language units such as vowels and sounds, according to the importance attached to its components, the following range is obtained:

Sound: Denkanmisen; Tugukan; Dafabali; Dafalan; Kan dafalan.

Vowel: Denkanba; Kan dafalen; Yelekan; Dafalen; Suralan; Sukuri; Kan kalan

Without having to judge about the relevance of any of these terms compared to the others, it is worth mentionning that the basic criteria used to construct these calques, range from the presence or absence of voice, to the fulfilment of the necessary and sufficient conditions to form a syllable. Only in-depth studies, yet to be carried out, will confirm the primacy of one criteria on the others in the phonemic system of

Bamanan. Similarly, the terms coined to stand for grammatical words such as suffix and prefix, were found to be loaded with sociological ambiguity, because of the culturally grounded understanding of initial or final position. The observations made by many literacy animators tended to demonstrate, that contrary to what was to be expected from the calque used to create these terms, their Bamanan equivalents stand for opposite meaning.

These and similar circumstances rendered the modernization yet more complicated, particularly when it comes to winning acceptance for the new terms. It is obvious that the terms get their credentials only through their usage. What we are observing in Mali and in many others places is the hiatus between the creation and utilization of new terminological constructs. The rythm of production exceed the capacity of absorption. The language commissions have very little feedback on the acceptance of their products.

Three factors are largely accelerating and consolidating the modernization process:

- the post-literacy and lifelong education activities which provided a ground for the crystalization of the supra-dialectal norms worked out, and for expression of preference for one of the terms among the many devised;
- the Rural newspapers *Kibaru* and *Kabaaru* (Ouane,1989);
- the use of local languages in the formal school.

Lifelong education programmes aiming at providing continuing learning possibilities to the learners graduating from literacy centres, and other post-literacy activities have contributed greatly to the fixation of the newly worked-out language norms. This is particularly built-in in the methodology of the "Higher Training of Neo-literates". The starting point of this training model is the assessment of traditional knowledge of the neo-literates. This helped to find that many concepts are already rooted in the understanding of rural farmers and needed not to be re-invented. These sessions provided also very appropriate framework for checking the adequacy of the terms coined.

Thanks to the substantial linguistic infrastructure established in connection with the use of mother tongues in literacy training of adults, an experiment is being carried out with a view to eventually extending to the whole country the use of national languages in school curricula as both a medium of instruction and a subject. The basic assumption is that each Malian child will be guaranteed a minimum education through the medium of his or her mother tongue. Pending the provision of a comprehensive infrastructure for all Malian languages, the transition will be ensured by introducing the most widely spoken languages as media of instruction into their natural areas of diffusion. In the present article we are chiefly concerned with its standardization function.

This experiment has been putting a tremendous pressure on the implementing bodies to fasten the standardization process, both in normalizing forms and modernizing the language. Because of the resistance of the parents (62%) and the teachers (71%), initially all these schools were opened in rural areas, in places where the traditional schools in French were rejected as alienating institutions. The involvement of these linguistic and sometimes ethnic compact communities has benefitted the modernization process. Although this experience was conclusive and is being generalized and

extended to urban areas as well, its influence on standardization is diminishing. This could the attributed to the expansion of adult literacy, to the increase in the number of newspapers publishing in local languages. The most determining factor, however, is the fact that the utilization of local languages in school curricula is restricted to primary education level. Unless these languages can step beyond the door of primary schooling, and face the challenges of secondary and higher education, with increased number of subjects to deal with, their modernization will be achieved only half-way.

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LEXICAL INNOVATION IN HAUSA (NIGER, NIGERIA)

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Introduction

Hausa is a language spoken by more than 30 million people mainly in northern Nigeria and southern Niger. The upper limit on the figure can only be guessed at since Hausa is the largest lingua franca in West Africa - both geographically and numerically. Communities of first- and second-language Hausa speakers are found in cities from Senegal and Ivory Coast to Libya and the Central African Republic. A large Hausa community - said to be well over two million - is found in the Sudan; originally, this community grew along the pilgrim's route to Mecca, but was swelled in the early years of this century by Hausa refugees refusing to surrender to British rule in Northern Nigeria. In Ghana, Hausa is finding ever more recognition, despite the fact that it is not an official national language (see Yeboa-Dankwa 1991).

Languages adopt different strategies of innovation: the English accept the Oxford English Dictionary as a standard; in France, the Académie Française is credited with quasi-legal powers; in Tanzania, the National Swahili Council has promoted the use of Kiswahili in all spheres of life and been involved in the creation of new terminology (see Samsom, 1988). In Nigeria, the Hausa Language Board (HLB), founded in 1955, played a role similar to that of the National Swahili Council, involving itself with rules of orthography, grammatical terms, loan words and technical terms. With regard to standardization of the orthography, the HLB was very successful.

The creation of states in 1968 brought an end to the formal existence of the HLB; its activities were transferred temporarily to the Department of English and Modern Languages, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, before being taken over by the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages (CSNL) in Kano - an institution which, despite its name, has so far concerned itself mainly with Hausa.[1]

Lexical innovation in Hausa is mainly informal. This is probably not unconnected with the colonial history of Hausaland. In Nigeria, which came under British - i.e. indirect - rule, the HLB and its successor, the CSNL, were more concerned with the standardization of orthography than with the coining or sifting of new terms.[2] In Niger, the Hausa language came, so to speak, under the auspices of the Académie Française whose approbatory role did not extend to the languages of the colonized peoples! The French made no attempt to promote Hausa. Thus, for one reason or another, lexical innovation in modern Hausa has developed with little or no centralized supervision.

The development of Hausa lexical innovations is due largely to the flourishing Hausa media: newspapers, radio and television stations. The main Hausa newspaper, *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* (Truth is worth more than a Penny) appears three times per week (in Nigeria). The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and the Nigerian Television Authority

have domestic Hausa services; Hausa can also be heard in radio stations in Ghana and Niger.[3] These are complemented by the Hausa Services of the Voice of Germany, BBC, Voice of America, Radio Moscow and Radio Peking. Hausa can be heard in Radio Cairo and, I have been told, in Libyan broadcasts (NB. Wolff, in this volume, deals with standardization and the media more thoroughly).

Given the number of Hausa journalists expected to come up with acceptable translations of rapidly expanding terminology, it is unlikely that any centralized body could have coped adequately with the plethora of terms and phrases (and the various suggestions for translating them!) for which it would have been responsible. It is more than likely that any such body would have suffered a fate similar to those in e.g. Tanzania and Ethiopia where neologisms coined by centralized official bodies do not always find wide acceptance.[4] Nevertheless, a number of specialist vocabularies have been published for Hausa, by individuals or university departments: Dalziel (1916) on botany, Bagari (1986) for linguistics, *Kungiyar Nazarin Hausa* (1983, 'Hausa Studies Association'; henceforth: KNH. Members of the staff of the CSNL were closely involved with this development) on drama, folklore, phonetics and phonology, poetry, prose, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, syntax and morphology. Various committees or groups have published wordlists relating to their own academic fields; the BBC Hausa Service had a wordlist of modern (political and economic) terminology in the 1960s. More recently this (mine-?!)field has been investigated by Herms (1980)[5], Awde (1987) and McIntyre/Meyer-Bahlburg (1991).

In the body of this article I shall address myself to the strategies and sources of innovation in Hausa. There seem to be two main strategies of innovation which I label 'borrowing' and 'adaptation' strategies (parts 1 and 2). As a conclusion (part 3), I shall discuss two specialist (linguistic) vocabularies to illustrate the problems facing those confronted with the task of lexical innovation and the varying strategies they adopt in order to solve them.

1. Strategies of Innovation (Borrowing)

This strategy can be subdivided into borrowings from contact languages other than Arabic and borrowings from Arabic. I make this distinction because Hausa has direct access to Arabic in what must now be considered to be an integral part of its own culture: Qur'anic education.

1.1 *Borrowings from Languages other than Arabic*

Hausa has borrowed heavily from other languages: English, Kanuri, and Yoruba to name but a few. Its borrowings from English have come in several ways: directly, through hearing (see (1) below); directly, through seeing (the written word - there are fewer examples of this; see (2) below); and indirectly - through another language (3)[6]:

1a) *gwamnatì*	government
1b) *janàr*	general (military)
1c) *ministà*	minister (political)
1d) *mootàa*	car, automobile

The list of words directly borrowed through hearing is very long. There are fewer words borrowed through seeing the written word:

2a)	*biirò̃o*	biro, ball-point pen
2b)	*laabùr̃aar̃èe*	library
2c)	*maatòo*	car, automobile
2d)	*oozàa*	ounce

These words came into the language via those educated in Western schools: *'biirò̃o'* is the reading of the brand name 'Biro'; *'laabùr̃aar̃èe'* came into Hausa by reading (few, if any, native speakers of English pronounce both /r/ sounds!); *maatòo* is due to wrongly written signs for *mootàa* (1d); *'oozàa'* came into the language through reading the English abbreviation, 'oz.' as separate letters of the alphabet pronounced in Hausa.

A number of English words came through other languages - mainly Yoruba (see Salim 1990):

3a)	*sàfiyòo*	(Yor.)sofeyo	(Engl.)surveyor	**sàbeyàa*
3b)	*tashàa*	(Yor.)teso	(Engl.)station	**sìteeshàa*
3c)	*kwaanòo*	(Yor.)kpanu	(Engl.)pan (metal bowl)	**fân*

(NB. I have not marked the Yoruba words for tone.)

The starred form is the likely Hausa form, had it been borrowed directly from English.

1.2 *Borrowings from Arabic*

Qur'anic scholars, influential in their own cultures (but generally overlooked in statistics on literacy published by such august bodies as UNESCO!) are the bearers of a rich cultural heritage, and are comparable to professors of the classics in European universities and schools, not only in their knowledge and social status, but also in their function of providing a ready source of potential lexical innovations. Hausa has profited from these scholars for centuries and still does so. There have been two main waves of Arabic loans in Hausa, the first coming mainly through Kanuri[7]:

	Hausa	Kanuri	Arabic	English
5a)	*àlloo*	µllló	lawh	writing-board
5b)	*kàasuwaa*	kµsúgù	suq	market
5c)	*maalàm*	málèm	mu'allim	teacher

(NB. the signs µ and è are approximations of Kanuri mid-vowels.)

Other Arabic words have come directly into Hausa and are of more recent origin:

6a)	*àlkaalii*	(Ar.)	al qali	judge
6b)	*jar̃r̃àbaa*	(Ar.)	jarraba	to test
6c)	*kèr̃a'àa*	(Ar.)	qara'a	to read

1.3 *Amibiguity in the borrowed language*

As a 'host' language, Hausa treats its 'guests' correctly, respecting the shades of meaning that any one word might have, e.g. the difference between concrete and abstract meanings (for some of the examples, the literal meaning of the abstract gloss is given in brackets):

	concrete / abstract
7a) agreement	*yàr̃jeejeeniyaa/amincêewaa*
7b) association	*ƙungiyaa/gamà kâi*
(in association with	*tàare dà)*
7c) crime/crime(rate)	*lâifii/(yawàn) laifuffukàa*
	(lit.: (amount of) crimes)
7d) spirit	*dòodoo, àljan/manufaa, àbin nufii*
	(lit.: intention, thing-of meaning)

2. Strategies of Innovation (Adaptation)

This strategy can be subdivided into lexical and morphological adaptation; 'lexical adaptation' refers to the extension of the meaning of a word or phrase; I include neologisms under this heading. I use the term 'morphological adaptation' to refer to the increased productivity of derivational forms.

2.1 *Lexical Adaptation*

2.1.1 *Extension of meaning*
Hausa often responded to the need for lexical innovation by adapting terms already in the language to a new context or meaning. This is not a new strategy: the word *goorò* (kolanut - a long established word), has taken on the meaning of 'reward for services (to be) rendered'; the dictionaries of Bargery (1934) and Abraham/Mai Kano (1949) document thousands of such metaphorical extensions. In recent times, the same strategy has been used often, either with single Hausa words (8) or with expressions (9) (original meanings are given in brackets):

8a) ambassador	*jàkaadàa* (important palace messenger)
8b) environment	*yanàyii* (climate, disposition, temperament)
8c) theme	*jigòo* (pole - for irrigation or roof support)
8d) urgency	*gaggaawaa* (haste)
9a) development, progress	*cîi gàba* (getting ahead, continuing)
9b) be identical (with)	*yi kûnnen dookìi* (do/be the ears-of horse)
9c) veto (verb)	*hau kujèerar̃ "naa ƙi"* (get-on chair-of "I refuse")

If (9b) and (9c) seem unusually long to European ears, they are fully accepted by Hausa speakers.

2.1.2 *Neologisms*
The boundary between neologisms and extension of meaning (2.1.1) is perhaps blurred in Hausa: new words have not been invented, nor have e.g. Arabic words or affixes

been adapted (as has been tried with Gi'iz - for Amharic - in Ethiopia[8]. Hausa prefers to use what is already available:

10a) curfew	*dòokař "hanà fitaa"* (law-of "prevent going-out")
10b) emergency law	*dòokař "taa ɓaacì"* (law-of "she-(the situation)-has gone-bad")
10c) environment	*keewayèn (or màhâllin) ɗan Adàm* (area-of/-around son-of Adam)
10d) helicopter	*jirgin samà mài sàukař ùngùlu* (lit. vehicle-of above with landing-of vulture)
10e) homelands (S. Africa) (territories)	*yankunàn dà akà baa sù 'yancìn "jèe-ka! na yii kà"* that one-has given them freedom of "go! I'm done (with) you"
10f) referendum	*zàaɓen jîn řa'àyin jàma'àa* (election-of hearing(-of) opinion-of people)
10g) United Nations	*Màjàlisàř Ɗinkìn Duuniyàa* (council-of sewing(up)-of world

The English loan *helìkaftàa* is also used for 10d) but just as many speakers - including news readers - use the neologism. Again, it sounds very long to Europeans as do a number of the neologisms but Hausa speakers are quite happy with them.

2.1.3 *Lexical "non"-Adaptation*
A number of terms - 'jury' and 'proportional representation' are good examples - have not yet been properly introduced into the language. Such terms are simply described. Stylistically, one can get around the problem of repeating cumbersome descriptions by giving the description in full at the beginning of a paragraph or news item and later referring to it briefly with e.g. 'these people' for 'jury' and 'this arrangement' for 'proportional representation'. The problem with a term such as 'proportional representation' is not that it is untranslateable into Hausa (the term *gwàřgwàdajjen tsaarìi* would be a good translation), it is rather that the (westernized) political culture, relying as it does on western education, is not developed enough to allow this very succinct phrase to carry so much meaning. On reflection, the etymological meanings of 'proportional' and 'representation' in English could allow for the use of this term in cookery - to describe the proportions of the ingredients! As an educated person, one simply "knows" that this is not the case. The process of learning this "knowledge" is education, starting with formal education in school and continuing informally in other contexts, such as the media.

2.2 *Morphological Adaptation*

One technique by which Hausa has responded to the challenge of lexical innovation is the extended use of derivative forms: some of these forms have simply become more productive. I shall look at five forms here: the past passive participle; the adverbial noun of state; the suffix *-ncii* (or *-ncìi*); the *-au* suffix; and the noun of agent.

2.2.1 *The past passive participle (PPP)*
The PPP is derived from a verb - in principle, any verb. The meaning of the derived form entails all the elements in the designation: 'past', i.e. completive or perfective; 'passive', - the implied subject (often appearing as the noun adjectivally qualified by

the PPP) has undergone the action; 'participle', - the translation may well include a participle. Taking any verb X, one can use the English '(the/a) having been X-ed (one)' as a gloss for the PPP in Hausa. It has been used to translate new terms in Hausa such as:

11a) *zàunannen wàkiilìi*		permanent member
	<- *zaunàa,*	sit, stay (live) in a place
11b) *kàyyàtacciyaɽ̃ fàsaahàa*		sophisticated technology
	<- *ƙayyàtaa,*	beautify
11c) *rùfaffiyaɽ̃ gaɓàa*		closed syllable
	<- *rufèe,*	close

My suggested translation for 'proportional representation' (*gwàɽ̃gwàdajjen tsaarìi*) also uses a PPP: *gwàɽ̃gwàdajjee.*

2.2.2 *The adverbial noun of state (ANS)*
Like the PPP, the ANS is derived from a verb - in principle from any verb. As its name suggests, it is useful in translating adverbs and adverbial phrases into Hausa.

12a) (à) *zàamànànce*			currently, in modern times
<-	**zàamànantà*	*zaamànii,*	(modern) era
12b) (à) *hùkùumànce*			officially
<-	**hùkùumantà*	*hùkuumàa,*	(public) authority
12c) *kâi tsàye*			directly, at once
<-	*tsayàa,* stand (up)		(lit. head up)

2.2.3 *The -ncii/-ncii suffix*
This suffix is well established in Hausa, used in expressions such as *Kanancii* (Kano Hausa) or *zaaluncii* (oppression):

13a) *alamcii*	(<- *àlaamàa,* sign)	symbolism
13b) *Jaamusancii*	(<- *Jaamùs,* Germany)	German (language)
13c) *Maakisancii*	(<- (Eng.) Marxism)	Marxism

2.2.4 *The -au suffix*
This deverbative suffix is, as far as I know, an older suffix which has come back into fashion. In the past it was used to form names, e.g. Ɗìbgau (<- *ɗìbgàa,* pour or do much of something), a nickname for anyone called *Bellò;* recently, it has been used to form nouns in specialist vocabularies:

14a) *àikàtau*	(<- *aikàtaa,* do)	verb
14b) *bàyàanau*	(<- *bayyànaa,* explain)	adverb
14c) *kàrɓau*	(<- *kàrɓaa,* accept)	object

2.2.5 *The noun of agent (NAg)*
The NAg is a slightly different case to the four derivative forms above, inasmuch as its role in lexical innovation lies more in its extended use as an adjective (15a and 15b) than in an increase in the use of the form itself (but see 15c):

15a) *matsàkàicii* intermediate (<- *tsakàitaa*)
e.g. *màkàamai màasu matsàkàicin zangòo,* medium-range weapons

15b) *makàmàntaa* (pl.) similar (ones) (<- *kamàntaa*)
e.g. *haalàayee makàmàntan wannàn*, situations like this one
15c) *matàasaa* (pl.) youths (<- *taashi*)

Example 15c seems to be a modern term to describe 'youths' in general, although the singular forms are heard; Hausa has two older (gender-specific) words which are still used: *sauràyii* (n.m. youth); *bùdurwaa* (n.f. maiden).

3. Conclusion: Two specialist (linguistic) vocabularies

In the preceding pages I have given examples of various strategies used in lexical innovation in Hausa. I have perhaps given the impression that lexical innovation in Hausa is unproblematic: I think this is a fair assessment of Hausa in everyday life and in the media. However, it is not true of all contexts in which lexical innovation is called for.

As a conclusion and in order to give some insight into the concrete problems of lexical innovation and the strategies adopted to solve them, I shall make a brief comparison of two linguistic vocabularies: KNH (1983 - the section on 'Syntax and Morphology') and Bagari (1986). Two general observations should be made: firstly, both vocabularies are aimed at the same group of users - Hausa students starting to study linguistics in Hausa; the first contains 357 terms, the second 242 -an indication that the authors differ in their treatment of the subject (Similar treatment would seem to be a precondition of agreement on acceptable terms; on the other hand, different theories produce different terminology - a problem which is not restricted to lexical innovation!). Secondly, concerning the acceptability of the terms proposed, it is worth pointing out that there is a three-year difference between the publication dates of the two books; in other words, either the first vocabulary had not 'caught on' or the author of the second work felt his terms were more appropriate (perhaps for theoretical reasons).

Of the 357/242 terms only 36 are exactly the same; these are either places of articulation (e.g. alveolar ridge, front of the tongue, lungs, teeth) or general words which were already in the language (e.g. literature, sentence, word); some general linguistic terms are also found here (e.g. verb, adverb, object, phoneme, syllable). Again, some differences are minimal: KNH translate 'theme' with *jigòo* (see 8c); Bagari uses *jigòn jimlàa* (lit. theme-of sentence); KNH translates the term 'velarization' with *handâantâawaa* while Bagari translates it with *handâancêewaa* (The difference here lies in the verbal extension chosen). Only 12 terms are radically different. What both authors have in common are the strategies they adopt: Arabic loan words and the nominalizing derivational forms listed above: PPP (11c), the *-ncìi* suffix (13a) and the *-au* suffix (14a-c). In translating 'velarization', both authors choose a verbal noun. Given the fact that the terms to be translated are mainly nominal, it is not surprising that both authors use nominalizing strategies, generally choosing the more common nominalizing forms.

Notes

1. For more information on the Hausa Language Board and its successors, see Wolff (this volume) and Yahaya (1988, 128-140).

2. The standardization of Hausa orthography can be traced from the German Missionary J.F. Schön's 'Dictionary of the Hausa Language' (1876); - his earlier publication (1843) is less reliable; through A. Mischlich's 'Wörterbuch der Hausasprache' (1906) and the major Hausa-English dictionaries of G.P. Bargery (1934), R.C. Abraham and Mai Kano (1949) to Newman and Newman's 'Modern Hausa-English Dictionary' (1977 - compiled by the CSNL). Meetings in Bamako (1966 - organized by UNESCO), Zaria (1979), Kano (1972 - organized by the CSNL) and Niamey (1980 - organized by UNESCO) put the final touches on the standard Hausa orthography now used in all Hausa publications with a great degree of success. For more information on the spread of Hausa in Nigeria, see Lemster (1984).

3. Lemster (1984:122) mentions that Hausa was first broadcast in Ghana in 1942. The importance of broadcasting for the spread of Hausa is indicated in 'Tabelle 6' (p.184) where the author estimates that, in 1976, 350 Nigerians in every 1000 listened to radio. Information on Hausa in Niger is, unfortunately, not so easy to come by, but see Wolff (1990).

4. My information on Ethiopia comes from Polácek 29.5.1991.

5. In her notes at the end of the article, Herms (1984) mentions two manuscripts by Pilaszewicz (1977, 1978) concerning neologisms.

6. Hausa is a language with high, low and falling tones; vowel length is also phonemic; examples are marked as follows: high tone is unmarked; low tone is marked with a grave ` accent; falling tone with a circumflex ^ accent. Long vowels are written with a double vowel, short vowels with a single vowel. The rolled /r/ is indicated thus: r̃; retroflex /r/ is unmarked. The so-called glottal consonants are written with a hooked letter: ɓ, ɗ *and* ƙ.

7. Commenting on the words *karàntaa/kàràatuu* (study/studying) which are also derived from Arabic qara'a but came into Hausa via Kanuri, Greenberg (1960:210 footnote 9) suggested that a direct borrowing of the Arabic was "unlikely since this would be taken over normally as *kìr̃a:'à ..." He was correct inasmuch as the word is almost as he predicted. It took on a specialized meaning: 'studying the correct pronunciation of classical (Qur'anic) Arabic'; this is undertaken by advanced students of the Qur'an, after they have learned the Qur'an or parts of it by heart.

8. cf. endnote 4.

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STANDARDIZATION AND VARIETIES OF WRITTEN HAUSA (WEST AFRICA)

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1. The Hausa language

Hausa ranks among the most important languages of the African continent in terms of number of speakers (as first and second language) as much as geographical spread. Hausa is an international language spoken by possibly some 50 million people primarily in Nigeria and Niger as well as in adjacent countries in West Africa. Alongside Yoruba and Igbo, Hausa is one of the big three first languages (mother tongues) in Nigeria and is certainly the vehicular language (lingua franca) which has the most non-native speakers. Reliable census figures are hard to come by in Nigeria; I would guess that about 40 out of some 120 million Nigerians are able to use Hausa effectively. In Niger, about 54% of the population (7.25 million according to the 1988 census) are said to be Hausa by ethnic affiliation and language, but up to 80 or more percent can be assumed to understand and use Hausa for inter-ethnic communication.

As an international as well as a national language of wider communication, Hausa competes with the former colonial languages such as English and French and, to a much lesser extent in its geographical domain, with Arabic. At least seven African countries broadcast in Hausa (Cameroon, C.A.R., Egypt, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Togo) together with non-African international broadcasters in China, Germany, U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and the Vatican. At one time, the Hausa service of the B.B.C. was heard by people in no less than 22 African countries.

Hausa is not, however, the official language in any African state. It is attributed a more or less precisely defined legal status in Nigeria (official language: English) where it is an official language in most northern states (Sokoto, Kano, Katsina etc.) and is widely used in the educational system. In Niger (official language: French) it is used in adult literacy campaigns and a few out of the thirty so-called experimental schools which allow education in five of the seven "national languages".

Hausa displays considerable dialect variation yet without ever seriously hampering immediate mutual intellegibility between speakers of any given two different dialects. Precise information on dialect boundaries and the extent of variation is still lacking, linguistic research in the past having been geared almost exclusively to the so-called Standard Hausa (SH) which is based on the speech form of Kano, a major urban agglomeration in northern Nigeria. Most Hausaists agree, however, that there appears to be a major division between the northwestern dialects which are mainly spoken in Niger, and the eastern dialects which are predominantly spoken in Nigeria. The dialect of Kano on which the Standard Hausa is based, belongs to the eastern dialect group.

In terms of genealogical affiliation, Hausa is one of about 140 languages of the Chadic language family, which in turn is one of five families of the larger unit referred to as Afroasiatic (Afrasian by Russian scholars, formerly Hamito-Semitic). As such, Hausa is distantly related to the Semitic languages, Ancient Egyptian, Berber

and the Cushitic languages of eastern Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya etc.). More precisely, Hausa is a West Chadic language, most closely related to other languages in central Nigeria such as Gwandara and those of the so-called Bole, Angas and Ron Group of West Chadic languages.

As a language of international communication, trade and commerce, and given the fact that the vast majority of Hausa speakers may be assumed to be of Islamic faith, Hausa has to no little extent incorporated lexical items from other languages of wider communication. Sources for lexical borrowing have been Arabic, English, French, but also some other African languages such as Kanuri, Berber (Tamasheq), Yoruba, Mande etc. In terms of primitive typology, Hausa is a highly inflectional language with very rich verbal and nominal morphology both inflectional and derivational. Phonological tone plays no little role in creating lexical, derivational as well as grammatical oppositions.

2. "Standard Hausa"

When we use the term "Standard Hausa", what exactly do we mean? It should be clear that there is no natural dialect of the language which can be equated with Standard Hausa. Standard Hausa is an artificial system of reference which was primarily devised for the creation of written materials. In this sense, nobody "speaks" but many write, Standard Hausa. On the other hand, it is constantly maintained that Standard Hausa is "based on" the speech of Kano, i.e. the most important urban agglomeration in northern Nigeria. Linguistically speaking, the natural dialect of Kano would be "Kananci" and as such is often referred to by Hausa speakers and linguists. However, Kano being the traditional commercial navel of Hausaland it has attracted speakers from all over the Hausa-speaking world, whose dialects have contributed to what we may want to call a koine (which would also be referred to as "Kananci"!). As a matter of fact, it would be no problem to conduct a dialect study of almost any definable Nigerian Hausa dialect within the walls of the old city of Kano where one finds quarters predominantly inhabited by speakers from Katsina, Sokoto etc. So, we had better not confuse Standard Hausa with Kananci even though the literature on this issue is often guilty of doing just that.

Jokingly but correctly, Standard Hausa is often referred to as "Gaskiyanci", i.e. the language variety used in the newspaper GASKIYA TA FI KWABO. It is, basically, the written codification of the koine commonly associated with speakers from Kano minus its tonal structures, its vowel length differentiations plus a set of normative rules for the spelling of words which - in Kano itself - have no uniform pronunciation, e.g. bìkii vs. bùkii "festival" which is standardized to biki (note that, in the scientific transcription of Hausa used in this paper, low tones are marked by accent grave, while high tones remain unmarked; thus the word for "festival" carries a low tone on its first syllable and a high tone on its second; long vowels are marked by doubling the vowel symbol, i.e. the first syllable of this noun has a short vowel, while the final vowel is long; cf. further below). Another example is the letter f in Standard Hausa which most Kananci speakers, for instance, will pronounce as p (other dialects show, instead, phonetic f, fy, h, hw or p). "Standard Hausa" also means making and implementing decisions on acceptance and codification of neologisms and loan words which "the Kano man or woman in the street" would have little opportunity to use in everyday conversations.

3. A short history of Hausa standardization

Linguistic and philological research on Hausa begins in the middle of the last century and is closely connected with the names of predominantly German travellers as Heinrich Barth (1821-1865) and German and British missionaries such as Jacob Friedrich Schön (who published under the anglicized version of his name as James Frederick Schön, 1803-1889), Charles H. Robinson (1861-1925), and Adam Mischlich (1864-1948).

As from the beginning of our century, German professional linguists such as Carl Meinhof (1857-1944), Diedrich Westermann (1975-1956) and August Klingenheben (1886-1967) exerted considerable influence from their chairs of African linguistics ("Afrikanistik") in Berlin (until World War II) and Hamburg (as of 1909), whilst in Great Britain (SOAS, London) and Nigeria colonial officers and missionaries made enormous efforts in the field of Hausa studies, such as F.W. Taylor (born 1887), G.P. Bargery (1876-1966), R.C. Abraham (1890-1963). Pre-World War I/II French interest in Hausa was rather scanty and can be connected with names such as Maurice Delafosse, M. Landeroin and J. Tilho, and J.M. Le Roux, to whom we owe a few dictionaries, grammatical sketches and texts compiled before the first World War.

After World War II, African linguistics in general and Hausa studies in particular expanded enormously in various countries of the world beyond the immediate demands of the former colonial powers. Johannes Lukas (1901-1981) in Hamburg, F.W. Parsons (born 1908) in London and Claude Gouffé in Paris should be singled out as much as American scholars such as Joseph H. Greenberg, Carleton T. Hodge and Charles F. Kraft. The Polish tradition in Hausa linguistics begin with the works of Nina Pilszczikowa; the outstanding Czechoslovakian Hausaist is, no doubt, Petr Zima. Russian contributions to Hausa research have unfortunately gained little recognition due to difficulties of language and distribution.

The most recent and dramatic progress in Hausa linguistics is connected with the name of Paul Newman, following a series of insightful and provocative publications which began in the early seventies, some of which were written in cooperation with other excellent American Hausaists such as Roxana Ma Newman and Russell G.Schuh.

Among the leading centers of Hausa studies in the world today mention should be made of Bloomington/Indiana, Hamburg, London, Los Angeles/California, Madison/Wisconsin, Paris, Stanford/California, and of course the West African universities in Hausaland proper, i.e. Kano, Sokoto, Zaria - and to a certain extent Maiduguri - in Nigeria, and Niamey in Niger.

Hausa having already been used as the lingua franca of the West African Frontier Force, it was not long before missionary activities and the British colonial policy of indirect rule in northern Nigeria resulted in efforts directed to the standardization of Hausa for wider purposes of communication.

Basically two writing systems were available at the time: a system based on Arabic symbols known as àjàmí which had been in use for Hausa (and other languages elsewhere in Africa) for some centuries, and a system based on Roman letters (for instance, the unified so-called "Lepsius-Meinhof transcription system" for African languages). Given the conflict of interest between the British colonial administration

and the traditional power grid of local chiefs and emirs deeply entrenched in the Islamic faith, the àjàmí writing system would have associated written Hausa too much with the traditional Islamic leadership in the eyes of the colonial master. This was certainly one of the reasons, therefore, why the Roman system was adopted which became known in Hausa as bookòo (from English "book").

In 1911, published a year later, the Swiss Hanns Vischer (who later became a naturalized British citizen) suggested his "Rules for Hausa Spelling", which were officially accepted as the first standardization device for Hausa in the bookòo system. They were immediately put into practice in 1912 when the first campaigns against illiteracy were launched under the name YAKI DA JAHILCI ("war against ignorance/illiteracy"). Vischer's system was, roughly speaking, based on English consonants and Italian vowels.

In 1919 the first western type school (as opposed to the traditional Qur'anic schools) was opened, and the "Translation Bureau" was established in Zaria, one of the major Hausa cities in Northern Nigeria. In 1930 the first bilingual newspaper in Arabic and Hausa (bookòo) appeared. While the activities of the Zaria Translation Bureau were, in the beginning, geared mainly at translating from English originals into Hausa, eventually a very important development towards creative writing by Hausa authors began so that in 1935 the Translation Bureau could be justly renamed "Literature Bureau". In 1939, under the skilful direction of Abubakar Imam Kagara at the Literature Bureau, the very first issue of the Hausa newspaper GASKIYA TA FI KWABO ("truth is worth more than a penny") saw the light of day, a newspaper which is still going strong today. In 1945 the Literature Bureau was incorporated into the newly founded GASKIYA CORPORATION, whose primary goals were the inexpensive production and distribution of printed materials in Hausa, and later also in other Nigerian languages. In 1954 the Gaskiya Corporation brought forth the Northern Regional Literature Agency (NORLA), known from 1966 as the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company (NNPC). NNPC no longer restricts its publishing activities to works in Nigerian languages. These were the parastatal and commercial agencies to promote and implement the new standard orthography for Hausa.

The first phase of Hausa orthographic standardization, which began with Vischer's "Rules for Hausa Spelling", culminated in the thirties: In 1934 the Reverend G.P. Bargery published his seminal work "A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary", which contains about 40,000 entries and indicates, for the first time in a consistent manner, vowel length and tonal structure. For this dictionary, a special committee had been set up, "appointed by the Government of Nigeria in consultation with Professor D. Westermann, Director of The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. - The object of the Committee was to bring the previously existing system of transliteration into closer harmony with modern principles of orthography and at the same time to avoid drastic changes which were not strictly necessary." (From the "Compiler's Introduction", p. xxi.) This orthography was also used for the newspaper GASKIYA TA FI KWABO and for publications by the Literature Bureau, among which Abubakar Imam's MAGANA JARI CE (3 vols., 1937) stands out as an excellent piece of world literature.

The second phase of Hausa standardization efforts may be associated with the founding of the Hausa Language Board in 1955. Spiritus rector of this institution was once more the Reverend G.P. Bargery who was then serving as Director of the Hausa

Bible Committee. The goals of the Hausa Language Board were to unify the spelling of Hausa words and loans from other languages and to be consulted on all matters regarding the Hausa language. (Since 1974 the Hausa Language Board forms part of the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages at the Bayero University in Kano, Nigeria.)

It is not by accident that so far we have only learned about standardization activities in Nigeria but not in Niger. Quite unlike the British colonial concept of "indirect rule" for Northern Nigeria, the French colonial policy was that of total assimilation. In former French colonies little or no room was left to African languages for official purposes of communication. Hausa, like many other African languages in francophone Africa, was conceded marginal status as one language used in the adult literacy programmes in the rural areas after independence. Despite the minor role that Hausa was to play in Niger, a delegation from this country took part in the famous Bamako conference on the "Unification of Alphabets of National Languages" organized by UNESCO in February/March 1966.

Contrary to the idea of the 1966 Bamako UNESCO meeting of experts, for Hausa this date marked the beginning of one and a half decades of conflicting orthographies on both sides of the Niger-Nigeria border. While Niger immediately adopted the orthographic suggestions propagated by the experts in Bamako which differed from the standard Nigerian practice, the Bamako resolutions had no effect in Nigeria where the printing business continued as usual, flooding not only the Nigerian market but also spilling over into Niger. No wonder, therefore, that the little that was published in the "new" orthography in Niger stood little chance of being accepted as "standard" as opposed to the GASKIYA-standard that came across the border. In 1980, therefore, both competing orthographic systems were again officially harmonized at a bilateral meeting of experts in Niamey, Niger, with the result that Niger renounced the adoption of the Bamako system and now accepted the Nigerian standard (with but one little exception, i.e. the glottalized "'y" for which the Nigerian standard was to accept a special "hooked" symbol instead of its traditional digraphic symbol - which until today nobody in Nigeria bothers to take notice of!).

If one compares the usage of Standard Hausa as a means of written communication in Nigeria and Niger, the difference between the two countries is striking: In Nigeria SH is well entrenched and fits naturally into the communicational topography so that every literate Hausa speaker finds him- or herself quite able to cope with books, newspapers, sign boards etc. written in SH, whereas in Niger the literate man or woman is simply not accustomed to seeing any of the "national languages" in print, and, if at all, the few Hausa words he or she may recognize on a sign board (wishing a welcome to the newly arrived near the airport, or publicizing a certain hotel), are written in an ad hoc fashion which does not correspond to SH, cf.

Standard Hausa	*ad hoc Hausa* (example from Niamey, Niger)
sannunku da zuwa	sanuku dazua "(be thee) welcome"
sauka lafiya	sabka lahya "arrive safely"

In short one may say that SH is practically non-existent in Niger's everyday communication, other than in published materials that come across the border from

Nigeria and in adult literacy materials which have a rather limited distribution. The existence of a few "experimental schools" with mother tongue education during the first few years does not change the picture.

4. Writing "Standard Hausa" (bookòo)

Restricting our discussion to the writing of Hausa in Roman letters (bookòo) rather than in the modified Arabic script (àjàmí), we need to distinguish two sets of standardized writing systems:

1. *the official standard orthographies*
   1.1. as actually used in Nigeria (GASKIYA system)
   1.2. as used in Niger between 1966 and 1980 (BAMAKO system)
   1.3. as agreed upon for both Nigeria and Niger in 1980 (NIAMEY system)

2. *the scientific transcription systems used by linguists*

The fundamental difference between the two sets concerns the treatment of tonality and vowel length. Whereas all variants of the scientific transcription indicate tone and vowel length for each syllable, this is not true of all the official standardized varieties: Only the BAMAKO system made provisions for the marking of tones and vowel length, both the GASKIYA and the NIAMEY system do not consider tone or vowel length. The functional load of tonality and vowel length is illustrated in the following examples of minimally contrastive sets.

GASKIYA phonological

a. Phonological and morphological distinctions in the mood-aspect-tense system:

ya tafi	/yaa tàfi/	he has gone (perfect)
ya tafi	/yaà tàfi/	he will probably go (second future)
ya tafi	/ya tàfi/	he went (relative perfect)
ya tafi	/yà tàfi/	he may go (subjunctive)

b. Phonological and morphological distinctions in the derivational system of the verb:

koya	/kòoyaa/	learn s.th.
koya	/kooyàa/	teach s.o.

c. Phonological and lexical distinctions between nouns:

baba	/bàaba/	father
baba	/baabà/	mother
baba	/baabaa/	indigo
baba	/bàabaa/	eunuch

Native speakers of Hausa, however, have little or no problem in reading and understanding texts written in the official standardized orthography without the marking of tone and vowel length. When asked to read out loud, they rarely have to go back and re-read a sentence due to mis-reading of tones or vowel length. Language learners, on the other hand, tend to be highly irritated by the lack of tonal and vowel length indications in the official orthographies.

4.1 *The official standard orthographies*

The GASKIYA system currently in use in Nigeria is basically that of Hanns Vischer (1912) as modified by the governmental comittee for the 1934 edition of Bargery's "A Hausa-English Dictionary". These modifications were phrased in the following recommendations (quoted from the "Compiler's Introduction" of Bargery's dictionary, pp. xxi f.):

"1. The practice of placing dots under letters should be abandoned in favour of an apostrophe before b and d to indicate the implosive sound, and after k to indicate the ejective sound.
2. The combination ch being clumsy, especially when doubled, it should be replaced by the single letter c which is not otherwise used in Hausa.
3. The combinations sh and ts should remain, but when doubled should be written ssh and tts respectively.
4. In the matter of showing vowel length the principle to be followed should be that long vowels are only marked in cases where it is essential in order to avoid confusion between similar words, a long vowel being indicated by a horizontal line over the letter.
5. It is not considered essential to differentiate in the ordinary writing of Hausa between the two sounds of r which occur in the language, nor to introduce a phonetic symbol to represent the velar n which occurs only under particular conditions."

The glottalized palatal approximant 'y is treated as "y preceded by glottal closure".

Since Bargery's dictionary also contains dialectal forms, provisions are made for representing some of these. Thus, the Katsina, Sokoto and Gobir pronunciations t' and c' of Kano ts (ejective) are indicated, whereas the Sokoto, Katsina and Gobir pronunciation s' of the same phoneme is not. Also, regarding the dialectal variation concerning f, p, and h, h is indicated.

The BAMAKO system basically accepts the GASKIYA conventions, recommending only a few modifications, such as

1. replacing the digraphs ts and 'y by single symbols ("hooked" ƈ and ƴ, for certain dialects also a "hooked" ƙ) to harmonize the writing of these phonemes with that of the other glottalized consonants,
2. only using the letter h for the phoneme /h/, leaving orthographic f to symbolize phonetic and dialectal variants (p, f, h) of the phoneme /p/.
3. allowing dialect-specific spellings such as hy and hw for /p/.
4. writing the syllabic nasals as a vowel-consonant sequence: in. As for tones and vowel length, they were to be indicated in juridical, academic and pedagogical documents and materials. Vowel length was to be marked either by a macron above the vowel or, preferably, by doubling the letter. Vowel length in final word position, where phonologically distinctive, was to be indicated.
   The "diphthongs" ai, au were accepted for the time being, the alternative analysis of a sequence of vowel r approximant, i.e. ay and aw (and also iy and uw instead of ii and uu) was discussed but the final decision was shelved.

It was recommended to indicate tone and vowel length on the preverbal pronouns in the two paradigms "Subjunctive" and "Second Future" to allow clear distinctions in the mood-aspect-tense system:

Subjunctive			*Second Future*	
1. sg.c.	ìn	1.pl.c. mù	1.sg.c. naà	1.pl.c. maà
2. sg.m.	kà	2.pl.c. kù	2.sg.m. kaà	2.pl.c. kwaà
f. kì			f. kyaà	
3. sg.m.	yà	3.pl.c. sù	3.sg.m. yaà	3.pl.c. saà
f. tà		indef. à	f. taà	indef. aà

In the Progressive paradigm, the preverbal pronoun 1.sg.c. was to be written simply i to mark it off from the subjunctive paradigm, although both represent a syllabic nasal:

i na gudu	I am running (progressive)
in gudu	that I run (subjunctive)

The experts at the Bamako meeting also recommended that the progressive morpheme na should be written separately from the preverbal pronoun to match the relative progressive and the negative progressive paradigms:

ka na gudu	you (m.) are running (progressive)
ka ke gudu	you (m.) run (relative progressive)
ba ka gudu	you (m.) are not running (negative progressive)

Whereas neither the Nigerian government nor the publishers in Nigeria saw any particular reason to enforce or implement the BAMAKO recommendations where they differed from standard practice, the government in Niger immediately implemented the Bamako recommendations with the addition that

a. the glottalized palatal approximant was written y̓,
b. the "diphthongs" were to be written as ay and aw, and
c. tones and vowel length be generally marked were phonological distinctions were involved.

The result was that after the Bamako meeting of experts in 1966 under the auspices of UNESCO, two competing standard orthographies coexisted in Hausaland:

	Niger orthography	*Nigeria orthography*
vowels ii,ee,aa,oo,uu	i, e, a, o, u	i, e, a, o, u
"diphthongs"	ay,aw	ai, au
consonants	', b, ɓ, c, d, ɗ, f, g, h, j, k, ƙ, l, m, n, r, s, t, w, y, y̓, z,	', b, ɓ, c, d, ɗ, f, g, h, j, k, ƙ, l, m, n, r, s, t, w, y, z,

digraphs	gw, gy, hw, hy, kw, ky, ƙw, ƙy, sh, ts	fy, gw, gy, kw, ky, ƙw, ƙy, sh, ts, 'y

tones/length: e.g. dà and, with
dàa if
dâ some time ago

In January 1980 at the Niamey conference, the effort to harmonize the two competing orthographic standards resulted in basically two recommendations:
a. The Niger standard was to be given up in favour of the Nigerian standard,
b. the Nigerian standard was to be modified to accept the single letter symbol y' instead of the digraph 'y. It was agreed that the letter p, otherwise not used in the writing of Hausa, should be used in names (e.g. Pakistan) and ideophones (e.g. kap, tsap etc.).

Further recommendations at this meeting concerned questions of word division, some of which were to substitute recommendations reached at Bamako in 1966, such as, for instance, now insisting on writing all mood-aspect-tense markers together with the preverbal pronouns as long as they follow the pronoun,

cf. suna gudu	they are running (progressive)
suke gudu	they run (relative progressive)
sukan gudu	they used to run (habitual)
sun gudu	they have run (perfect)
suka gudu	they ran (relative perfect)
saà gudu	they will probably run (second future)
but:	
za su gudu	they will run (first future)

4.2 *The scientific transcription*

The scientific, professional linguistic transcription of Hausa aims at maximal phonological representation, i.e. ideally each phoneme should be represented by one graphic symbol. The salient difference between the orthographic standards and the scientific transcription concerns the treatment of tonality and vowel length. Also, most professional Hausaists prefer to indicate the phonological distinction between the two r's (trilled vs. flapped).
However, there is a certain "dialect variation" as to how to mark tone and vowel length and the difference between the two r's as much as in the writing of the so-called diphthongs.

At least four different devices to mark vowel length have been used so far. Most scholars appear to settle for doubling the vowel symbols, but some still prefer the macron above the vowel symbol. Occasionally, authors indicate length by ":" after the vowel symbol. The ingenious suggestion to mark off short vowels (by a cedilla and only in open syllables, because for structural reasons long vowels cannot occur in closed syllables) rather than long vowels in Hausa has been proposed but has found little or no following.

Examples for marking vowel length distinctions:
/baabà/ mother
/ba:bà/
/bãbà/
/babà/

Tone marking as such is relatively uniform in phonological transcriptions of Hausa, i.e. high tone is usually - if at all, cf. below - indicated by an acute accent above the vowel symbol, e.g. /á/, low tone by a grave, e.g. /à/. Since a combination of one high tone and one low tone on one and the same syllable is permitted in Hausa, both accents may be combined to indicate a "falling" high-low tone contour on a so-called heavy syllable (i.e. CVV or CVC structure), e.g. /áà/ or /ân/. Transcriptions differ as to whether they indicate the falling contour on just one vowel symbol, e.g. /âa/, or spread it over two symbols, e.g. /áà/. Note that a "rising" low-high tone contour is not allowed on one syllable in Hausa, thus the following representation will never occur in the final output of phonological rules (but may result on intermediate abstract structural levels) except, perhaps, in the ideophonic and onomatopoetic sublexicon: */àá/. Some transcription "dialects" prefer to mark each syllable for tone, e.g. /báabà/ and /kâi/ both H-L (meaning "mother" and "head"), some even mark every single vowel symbol: /báábà/ H-L "mother". Mostly, however, high tone is left unmarked and only low tones are indicated, e.g. /baabà/ "mother". For the diphthongs this means that only the low tone part of a falling H-L contour need be marked, e.g. /kài/ "head". This results in a rather economic marking system, e.g.

/yaa/, /sai/	H	high tone heavy CVV syllable
/yaà/, /kài/	HL	"falling" tone heavy CVV syllable
/yàa/, /mài/	L	low tone heavy CVV syllable
		(no LH "rising" reading allowed on structural grounds, cf. above)

As for the treatment of the diphthongs, a number of professional linguists prefer an analysis of ai and au as /ay/, /aw/ and thus use a VC rather than a VV symbol configuration, e.g. /hawsa/ "Hausa", /kây/ "head".

As for the two r's in Hausa, the trilled r is usually marked off in some way as opposed to the flapped, mostly by a tilde above the symbol r, e.g. /r̃/, sometimes by a barred r, e.g. /ɾ/, or simply by capital /R/. Different dialect forms which represent differences in the phonological systems of Hausa dialects concern such issues as fusion of consonants which are kept distinct in Standard Hausa, e.g. both ejective /k̃/ and the glottal stop /'/ fuse in some eastern dialects to be represented by /'/ alone. Quite characteristically, northwestern dialects of Hausa, predominantly those spoken in Niger, show palatalized and labiovelarized consonants such as /hy, hw/ where Standard Hausa uses orthographic f. Indicating palatalization by adding "y" and labiovelarization by adding "w" to create a digraphic symbol, e.g. /ky, kw, gy, gw/ etc. is common practice in the scientific transcription of Hausa.

5. **Short sample text**

The following short sample text is given in both the offical standard orthography as currently in use in Nigeria (GASKIYA system) and in the most common scientific

transcription. (The text as such is taken from C.H. Kraft and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene "Hausa, a complete working course", Teach Yourself Books, 1973: 201,330.)

Dila Sarkin Dabara
Wata rana wani hankaka yana yawo. Yana neman abin da zai ci. Sai ya ga wani guntun nama a ƙasa kusa da wani dutse. Ya sauka, ya sa baki ya ɗauka. Ya tashi sama da naman a bakinsa ya sauka bisa wani itace. Ashe dila yana kallonsa - ya ga duk abin da hankaka ya yi. Dila, kuma, yana jin yunwa. Yana so ya sami naman. Sai ya yi dabarar da zai samu. Sai dila ya tafi gindin itace, ya gai da hankaka. Ya ce masa, "Kai, ran nan na ji kana rera waƙa. Muryarka, kuwa, da daɗi ta ke ainun. Sai yaushe zan sake jin waƙa irin taka kuma?" Hankaka, dai, ya kasa kunne. Abin da dila ya faɗa ya yi masa daɗi. Da ya ji haka sai ya manta da abin da ke cikin bakinsa. Ya buɗe bakinsa. Zai rera waƙa ke nan. Shi ke nan! Sai naman ya faɗo. Dila ya ɗauka, ya ce, "Madalla". Ya tafi da shi. Kurunkus!

Dilaa Sarkin Dàbaaràa
Wata raanaa wani hànkaakàa yanàa yaawòo. Yanàa neeman àbîn dà zaì ci. Sai ya ga wani guntun naamàa à ƙasà kusa dà wani duutsèe. Ya sàuka, ya saà bàakii ya ɗaukàa. Ya taashì samà dà naamàn à bàakinsà ya sàuka bisà wani itàacee. Àshee dilaa yanàa kallonsà - yaa ga duk àbîn dà hànkaakàa ya yi. Dilaa, kuma, yanàa jîn yunwàa. Yanàa soò yà sàami naamàn. Sai ya yi dàbaaɾ̃àɾ̃ dà zaì saamùu. Sai dilaa ya tàfi gìndin itàacee, ya gai dà hànkaakàa. Ya cèe masà, "Kaì, rân nan na ji kanàa reerà waaƙàa. Muryàɾ̃kà, kùwa, dà daaɗii ta kè ainùn. Saì yàushè zân saakè jîn waaƙàa irìn taakà kuma?" Hànkaakàa, dai, ya kasà kûnnee. Àbîn dà dilaa ya fàɗaa ya yi masà daaɗii. Dà ya ji hakà sai ya mântaa dà àbîn dà kè cikin bàakinsà. Ya buuɗè bàakinsà. Zaì reerà waaƙàa kèe nan. Shii kèe nan! Sai naamàn ya faaɗoo. Dilaa ya ɗaukàa, ya cèe, "Maadàllaa". Ya tàfì dà shii. Kùrùnkus!

The Jackal is the Chief of Schemers
One day a crow was wandering about. He was looking for something to eat. Then he saw a little piece of meat on the ground near a rock. He descended and picked it up in his mouth. He rose into the air with the meat in his mouth and landed in a tree. Well, a jackal was watching him - he saw everything that the crow did. The jackal, for his part, was hungry. He wanted to get the meat. So he worked out a scheme to get (it). So the jackal went to the base of the tree, he greeted the crow. He said to him, "Gosh, the other day I heard you singing a song. Your voice was very pleasant indeed. How long (will I have to wait until) I can hear your song again?" The crow listened (attentively). What the jackal said pleased him (very much). When he heard it he forgot about the thing in his mouth. He opened his mouth. He was about to (oblige by) singing a song. That was that! The meat fell down. The jackal picked (it) up and said, "Thanks." He went off with it. That's the end!

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NORMALIZATION IN ANDEAN LANGUAGES

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I will discuss critically the state of the art in relation to language normalization as far as the so-called "major languages", that is Quechua and Aimara, are concerned. I will focus particularly on work done at the level of graphization, grammatication and lexication, in the sense as defined by Ferguson (1968). As will be seen, most of the decisions taken in such matters result from a purely "descriptive" (uncommitted) treatment, "leaving the language alone", and therefore without a real concern for aspects such as normalization, codification and language development. As such, Andean languages are still treated as transitional mediums towards Hispanization and not as ends in themselves.

Such a purely descriptive and synchronic treatment of language standardization is due, in my point of view, to two well-known biases extremely deeply rooted: the emphasis put on the dialectal differences among local varieties, and the omission of the long tradition of grammatical and lexicographic studies which support the languages concerned, and which goes back to the middle of the sixteenth century.

As for the first bias, there is the strong proclivity towards registering, sometimes in a detailed fashion, the differentiating features which set apart the local varieties (the dialectologist acting as a language codifier would like to see reflected in his "normalization" the results of his field-work). This atomizing vision of the language does not allow for the discovery, beyond the observable, but mostly superficial differences, of common and underlying forms and features which, no doubt, are controlled by the communicative competence of the speakers. According to the second bias, the descriptivist acting as a codifier astonishingly neglects the philological and grammatical tradition of the major Andean languages, which is overlooked by him, as if the languages were recently "discovered". The antinormativist dogma ("leave your language alone") prevents him from realizing that, in matters of codification, most of the problems which are presently discussed, were actually pointed out and discussed in the past, and some of the solutions for which they opted could perfectly well be reconsidered with great advantage (Mannheim 1984, López 1988). In what follows, I will formulate some observations in relation to the experience accumulated so far in matters of corpus planning.

1. *Phonological and grammatical aspects*

What I see at present - in spite of the disruptive activities of foreign entities (SIL or CALA) as well as of local institutions (academies of Quechua) - is a general consensus in favor of the use of a unified alphabet not only within each country (with unequal dialectal situation differences) but also at the, so to speak, international level, thanks to the joint efforts made by institutions committed to that end. It is to be expected, naturally, that in spite of the fact that the respective alphabets were elaborated following more or less common criteria - that is, phonological, sociological, pedagogical and practical -, and without dismissing the fact that the sociolinguistic

and dialectal realities are different in each country (as far as Quechua is concerned, the situation is more complex in Peru rather than in Ecuador, and here more than in Bolivia), they are not free from typical traces of the descriptivistic dogma.

Thus, for example, there still persist transcriptive tendencies which seek to calque pronunciation, neglecting the fact that codification presupposes the development of alternative registers for the language, aside from or parallel to the oral system. Implicit within this practice is another more subtle fact: and that is that, consciously or unconsciously, what is being proposed is a notational system for the foreigner or for the Spanish-speaker, both of them ignorant of the languages being codified, and who can benefit from a transcriptional system as far as pronunciation is concerned. However, we know that no alphabet - at least within the so-called literary languages- teaches us how to pronounce: what we must ask at this point is for whom the writing system is being proposed.

Another vice which still persists among the proposed alphabets (especially in the Bolivian case, and also in the Peruvian until quite recently) is that they are introduced as if they were phonological inventories (with points and manners of articulation), and not real alphabets, of course with total neglect of aspects such as the spelling or even the name of the characters. All of this seems to indicate that, unconsciously, there does not exist even the slightest intention of putting into practice a writing system for the languages concerned: again, a transitional solution is being adhered to. This also explains why there never arose the necessity to prepare a manual of orthography, as if the process of graphization would end up in the postulation of a phonemic-graphemic inventory only. This is particularly astonishing, especially when we know that there have been several previous attempts at formulating rules of orthography and punctuation, such as those proposed by the Bolivian quechuist Berríos (1904: iv): this indicates to what extent it is detrimental to neglect the grammatical tradition mentioned above.

1.1 *Normalization in Quechua*

Now, I would like to outline some of the aspects which have not been contemplated thoroughly in the formulation of the alphabets of Quechua, and which are relevant in order to attain an authentic codification.

a. In the treatment of the syllable final stops in Cuzco-Puno, as well as in Bolivian Quechua, we still see the concretist --transcriptionist-- practice, which doesn't incorporate theoretical advances made by the variationist theory and its notion of pandialectal grammars (Bailey 1975), nor does it take into account the postulates of the ethnography of communication and its notion of communicative competence. In the case of the Quechua language, there are quite considerable amounts of dialectal evidence which allow the postulation of abstract segments, overriding their more concrete manifestations, without necessarily postulating segments attributed to the protolanguage. The advantages of the proposed solution can be seen, for example, in the fact that it is no longer necessary to add new graphs such as *sh*, *f* or *j*. Note that by taking into account such a proposal it is perfectly possible to unify the writing system of Southern Peruvian Quechua, as it is being done presently, and as it has also been implemented, although gradually, in Bolivia. This kind of solution affects not only the final syllable consonants as such but also the normalization of certain

suffixes which suffered from sporadic changes, such as the genitive, the inclusive, the obviative subordinator, etc.
b. Another aspect which should be contemplated is the treatment of cases of polymorphism. It is my conviction that in such cases a unique form should be postulated, preferably the most conservative one (such as, for example, in the case of the durative *-chka* or the dynamic *-yku;* both suffixes present a large amount of variation). In these cases, it does not seem to me commendable to postulate a variety of innovative forms which, although perfectly valid in speech, clearly deviate from more conservative and easily "recoverable" ones. Otherwise, it will be simply impossible to normalize the writing system: each writer will keep writing as he wishes.

c. Yet another aspect which should be reconsidered is the eclecticism assumed by the Bolivian quechuists in relation to the issue raised in the writing of three or five vowels. According to the official alphabet, one can either write with three or five vowels. This decision, far from contributing to the normalization of the language, actually amounts to evading the problem, creating a chaos in the writing system, as it is easy to see. It is my contention that in such cases one has to be more categorical, even when for that purpose one has to stick to the counting of votes among the members of the committee in charge of the normalization process. Incidentally, this type of decision has a long tradition in the history of Spanish, going back to 1517, as Nebrija points out.

d. It is also time to reconsider certain characters which were happily eliminated with negative consequences for the panquechua unification of the writing system. Again, this has been done by neglecting the philological-grammatical tradition of the Spanish language as well as that of Quechua. Thus, for example, the dismissal of *h* or the reaction against the use of *k* and *w*. An argument such as that the letter *h* is silent in Spanish and thus cannot be employed in Quechua (or in Aimara) is a clear misunderstanding of the problem. One has to ask again for whom the writing system is being elaborated. Due to prejudices like the one mentioned, the alphabets of Ecuador and Bolivia incorporate *j* instead of *h*, and, in the first case, *hu* instead of *w*. The letters *k* and *w* were questioned in Ecuador invoking their supposedly recent English and/or German origin. And yet I should recall that the letter *k* was used in the XVII century by the Spanish grammarian Gonzalo Korreas, and as for the **w** it has been used in Quechua and Aimara at least since 1821. These types of prejudices preclude any attempt directed towards a real unification of the Quechua writing system throughout the whole Andean area.

e. We should also take into account the urgent task of preparing manuals of orthography. For this purpose, it is obviously important to make a careful study of the written materials available. Most of them, however, are not enough elaborated to serve as good illustrations of the variety of uses of of punctuation marks, for example. It should be recalled that the literary monuments of the past do not serve as an indicator for punctuation since there the principles which underlie the practice obeyed different patterns. As I have said, however, there exist within this matter pioneering efforts such as that of Berrios.

f. The extreme fluctuation of the laringeals (aspirated and glotalized consonants) within the so-called "Inca-Quechua", where the same word does or does not register such consonants according to the dialectal area (although one should recognize that

there is, on the other hand, a considerable common and uniform vocabulary), should make us think whether it is worthwhile representing them in the writing system. It must be recalled that an alternative in favor of a hypodifferentiated solution of the above mentioned consonants had already been taken in the XVI century. The best proof to the effect that such a solution works are the thousands of pages of the literary monuments in Quechua (and Aimara) produced within the span of 50 years (1584-1649). As is known, such a practice - a real intention directed towards the re-unification of Quechua - was hindered by the creole and mestizo Quechuists, mainly from Cuzco, who endorsed the wrong idea that orthography must reflect the actual pronunciation of the language. The consequences of that campaign were to the detriment of the so-called Quechua General developed by the former quechuists. I think that a solution in the vein of the colonial grammarians should be reconsidered, if the intention is to unify the language orthographically. But this presupposes, as is obvious, the overcoming of prejudices like the "minimal pair" orthography (according to which, if there is a pair of lexemes opposed by one distinctive element, and one of these elements occurs in a few words only, one has to postulate a new character (merely to avoid the "opposition" of differing sounds), neglecting the fact that one does not write lists of words only, and not recognizing that the context prevents any ambiguous interpretation. Incidentally, it is appropiate to recognize here the Ecuadorian solution to the problem of the aspirated consonants: the writing system simply ignores them.

1.2 *Normalization in Aimara*

In relation to this language, I should mention that there does not yet exist any systematic attempt at codifying it. Instead, the practice of traditional grammarians and scribes prevails, as well as an adherence to the practice introduced by the followers of the descriptive tendency, which is especially true at the phonological morphological level. To refer to the latter, it is a curious fact that a taxonomic grammar such as that of Hardman et al (1988) was taken as if it were a normalized grammmar. This is clearly a gross error, because the linguistic facts presented in it correspond mostly to the speech of a few idiolects and, what is worse, there is no attempt at normalizing the language. In fact, it is not surprising that the authors do not seem worried at all about the many alternatives, whose basic forms could be easily derived. On the contrary, a sort of exotic vision predominates throughout the whole book, where levelled forms are presented with indexes going from 1 to 5, ignoring the fact that there exist dialects or registers within a given language, where such apparently levelled forms are clearly distinguished. Thus, as can be seen, normalization in Aimara is in its beginnings. In the following, I will point out some of the problems which should be taken into account as far as normalization of this language is concerned.

a. What is needed is an urgent codification of the language, a normative grammar, because the existing manuals, be they traditional or modern, are intended to be guides for learning Aimara as a second language. As such, they were not written in order to normalize the language at all. In such cases, at it is easy to realize, there is no concern about the evaluation of competing forms, for example.

b. On the graphization level, in spite of the invocation made by the proponents of the official alphabet (approved in 1983), claiming that it is phonemic, it clearly turns out to be phonetic once it is put into practice. Of course, it is "phonemic" as far as the

segmental inventory is concerned, but when it is employed in actual writing then it becomes unavoidable to represent words and forms variably, that is with different shapes, as a result of the operation of morphosyntactically conditioned phonological processes. Since most of the syntactically conditioned vowel truncation in Aimara is predictable, there is no reason to "transcribe" the alternations since they are easily recoverable. It is needless to say that in this case, trying to reflect the pronounciation in the writing system, what one sees is a subliminal concern for the foreigner or for the non-Aimara speaking population: thus, the written system is conceived as an aid for the non-Aimara speaker. Once more, the questions arises: for whom is the alphabet intended?

c. As I have said, the narrow phonemic description (or better, *transcription*) of the language, as a result of the lack of a real normalization, leads, on the one hand, to the proliferation of pseudo homophones (such as, for example, the five *-ta* suffixes); and, on the other hand, to an unnecessary amount of long vowels, which can be easily avoided, provided we focus on more conservative dialects where no lengthening compensation arises. Such is the case of the first person future marker: whereas in La Paz it appears as vowel lengthening, in the northern dialects takes the form *-nha*, and so on.

d. As for the practical and sociological criteria invoked by the proponents of the official alphabets of Peru and Bolivia, it would not be unfair to say that the selection of diaeresis for marking vowel lengthening or the recources to the use of *x* for representing the postvelar consonant were completely unfortunate. Not only is it easy to omit the diaeresis (as happens in Spanish, where even linguists omit it in a word such as *lingüística*), as is done already: but the use of *x* makes the language so exotic, especially in view of the existence of a similar consonant in Spanish, which is written with *j*. But this problem arises once the *h* is eliminated as a candidate for representing the glottal aspirated consonant, for which *j* was selected, and therefore making it necessary to invent another letter for the postvelar. As a consequence of that, similar words in Quechua and Aimara are written differently (thus, for example, *hucha* 'fault' in Quechua and *jucha* in Aimara).

2. **Lexication**

In relation to the lexical codification of the Andean languages, it is fair to say that, after the monumental work of González Holguín ([1608] 1952) for Quechua, and Bertonio ([1612] 1984) for Aimara, we are lacking a similar effort devoted to the recording of the lexical corpus of the languages, with the same degree of exhaustiveness as well as with a careful checking of the semantic content of the entries. From then on, there have appeared several vocabularies and lexicons written in terms of the Spanish-speaking reader, trying to accommodate the Andean semantic base within the lexemic moulds of the Spanish language. Thus, as it can be seen, normalization within this aspect is a task to be initiated. It is really shocking to realize that the need to prepare dictionaries in Quechua and Aimara, with a thorough semantic checking of the entries done in the same language, has only been felt during the last two decades. Here also, unwillingly or not, the implicit posture of the lexicographers was in favor of assimilation. That is why I welcome the efforts of the Ecuadorian colleagues for their *Caimi ñucanchic shimiyuc panca* (1982), which, in

spite of its provisional character, constitutes the very first attempt at providing us with a monolingual Quichua lexicon, in no way simply ancillary to Spanish.

Thus, it should become clear that most, if not all, of the modern dictionaries cannot be taken as models of lexical normalization (not even those which came out lately for Aimara). They also suffer from the old bias coming from the structural-descriptivist tendency, and, of course, suffer from the phonological analysis imposed on the language. Some of them are lexicons elaborated exclusively with a linguistic-dialectological criterion, more concerned with the registration of forms and neglecting the semantic definitions of the entries. The error lies however in the fact that those dictionaries are taken as a frame of reference for correct spelling. Yet, it does not take much time to realize that the notion of *norm* is completely absent in them: not only do the very same authors lack coherence in their own orthographic notation but also, paradoxically, deviating forms are taken as archetypes whereas the genuine ones appear as mere variants (cf. Cusihuamán 1976, for example). On the other hand, they show no concern to unify the vocabulary, since the prevailing tendency is to stress the dialectal situation, showing the differences rather than pointing out the similarities: again, it is the interest of the linguist rather than that of the codifier which prevails. In this respect, it is comforting, once more, to note the efforts made by the Ecuadorian colleagues, who are trying hard in the direction of approximating lexically the dialects (turning into synonyms competing lexical items). As for myself (Cerrón-Palomino 1990), I also tried to formulate a Common Southern Quechua Basic Dictionary, which unfortunately has no possibility of being published. Within this same vein, and as a first approach, I have prepared, with the aid of two other colleagues, a vocabulary related to agricultural activities, trying to define the entries on the basis of the definitions provided in Quechua by the informants.

In relation to the efforts made on lexical elaboration so far, there exists a general consensus which favors an autarchic or native solution in the process of coining new terms for new concepts. There is, in that sense, a rather nationalistic attitude, which challenges any kind of indiscriminate borrowings. Such an option appears explicitly in, for example, Montaluisa (1980) and Zúñiga (1987). The latter summarizes the conclusions arrived at within the First Workshop on Quechua and Aimara Writing, held in 1983, and made official in 1985.

Now, the nativistic solution has been severely criticized by those who adhere to assimilation, the SIL members among them. It is precisely Weber (1987), a SIL linguist, who ridicules the conclusions arrived at in the above mentioned workshop. The criticisms, based on a distorted interpretation of the alternative which favors purism, arise from the well-known prejudices of a typical exponent of the colonialist position: his is, actually, an apology of free borrowing. As can be seen through the proposals made so far in the lexical elaboration either in Ecuador or in Peru, the native solution clearly differs from that of the traditional purism. In no way is it intended to purge the native lexicon through a witch-hunt, which is clearly absurd. But, on the other hand, one should not forget the internal colonial situation which characterizes the Andean societies and their languages: it is not the same to be a purist being a speaker of any of the European languages, where, grossly speaking, borrowings go horizontally and symmetrically from one language to another, has to be in a context of oppression, for in this case what we usually have is a large scale or massive borrowing in a vertical fashion: from the dominant language to the dominated one. As Ninyoles (1975) would say, in such a situation, not being a purist

equals being disloyal to one's own language. Therefore, an option in favor of purism doesn not exclude the borrowing of words, provided, on the one hand, that loans already form an integrated part of the lexicon of the language (= spontaneous borrowing); and on the other hand, when faced with new concepts, they are selectively administered, once the native resources are exhausted (= programmed borrowings).

Now, I would like to discuss two aspects related to the process of coining words, that is, induced neologisms. One of them has to do with the limitations of the native option, and the other with the phonological and/or orthographical representation of foreign neologisms.

There are several alternatives which imply an autarchic option: (a) derivation and composition, (b) semantic expansion, (c) rescue of words (either obsolete or those which came from different dialects, (d) semantic calque, and (e) descriptive periphrasis. It is the latter which appears to be the least recommendable, as proved by practice. In fact, coining by description results, formally, in either heavy phrases or even sentences; and semantically, in extremely descriptive and concrete expressions which are far from being practical. This is especially uncompatible with one of the most elementary properties that characterizes the lexicon of a normalized language: its clarity and conciseness. In view of that situation, and once all the chances for an elegant and precise nativistic solution are exhausted, one might resort to borrowing, especially when there already exist alternative loanwords spontaneously admitted. Incidentally, note how Bertonio ([1612] 1984: *Prólogo*), at the beginning of the XVII century, had already suggested a similar solution, faced with the problem of the early Spanish borrowings in Aimara. In fact, he says: "Thus [the Indians] will understand better if we tell them *cadelero*, or *candrillo apanima:* rather than *cadela saataaña* apanima: for although this second is proper to the language: but the other is best received and used [...]". Note the extreme vagueness of the periphrastic expression, which could be translated as "instrument where the candle stands up", that is *candlestick*.

As for the second aspect, that related to the formal nativization of the neologisms of foreign origin, there does not seem to be yet a general consensus. The positions adopted go from those who propose a spelling (and pronunciation!) in terms of Spanish orthography to those who maintain a full quechuization or aimarization, following the assimilatory mechanisms of the native languages. One and another extreme position reflects, no doubt, opposing ideological tendencies, and, each in its own turn guarantees a uniform solution - at least in theory - to the written representation problem of the loanwords, although it is easy to see which one would amount to a higher cost in terms of implementation. As for the Peruvian case, here they opted for a full nativization of the borrowings. However, given the complex sociolinguistic situation of the country - with dialectal areas penetrated in different degrees by the Spanish language - I think that one should reconsider the categorical nature of the alternative chosen. The experience demonstrates that a unique pattern of nativization for the whole language does not seem workable: in fact, whereas in the so-called "Indian blot" a full adaptation of the loanword to the canon of the recipient language seems justified (which is true for Aimara also), the same cannot be said for the remaining Quechua dialects. For these, rather a partial accommodation of the foreign words would be advisable, taking into account the full incorporation of foreign segments into the native phonological component of the dialects. Thus, for

example, not even in the most remote areas of the Peruvian Central Highland, will it be possible to find speakers who would say *tipluma, kawiltu. suyru,* etc. intead of *dipluma, kawildu* and *suydru,* respectively. It is clear then that the solution to the problem points to a non-unitary pattern of writing loanwords, impeding therefore an eventual unification of the orthography. Be it as it may, where there seems to be consensus is in the spelling of loanwords: it is assumed generally that these do not have to be written as in the donor language, as the assimilationist (including the academicists) would prefer. Here, a minimum of autonomy is required: each language should be written following its own orthographic system.

To conclude, it would be advisable, in view of the observations made, to assume a common task directed towards the normalization of the Andean languages in a more systematic and functional manner, avoiding conjunctural solutions dictated by the necessities arising during the preparation of pedagogical texts, as well as in the production of other type of materials, including translations. It is needless to say that in this aspect, more than in any other, what is required is a permanent consultant body of panandean dimensions, in charge of a more centralized work of normalization. This could be fully justified, because we are working within the same linguistic family (or within the same stock, if we consider the Aru languages), and there exists a general consensus in favor of a nationalistic option in relation to the process of coining words; hence it should be obvious that the same solutions could be contemplated also. In fact, an international workshop held at Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia) in October 1989 proved that such a joint treatment of the problems could be extremely profitable (see Ministerio de Educación y Cultura 1990, la Paz, for the final report).

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THE STANDARDIZATION OF QUECHUA:[1] SOME PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

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1. Language standardization

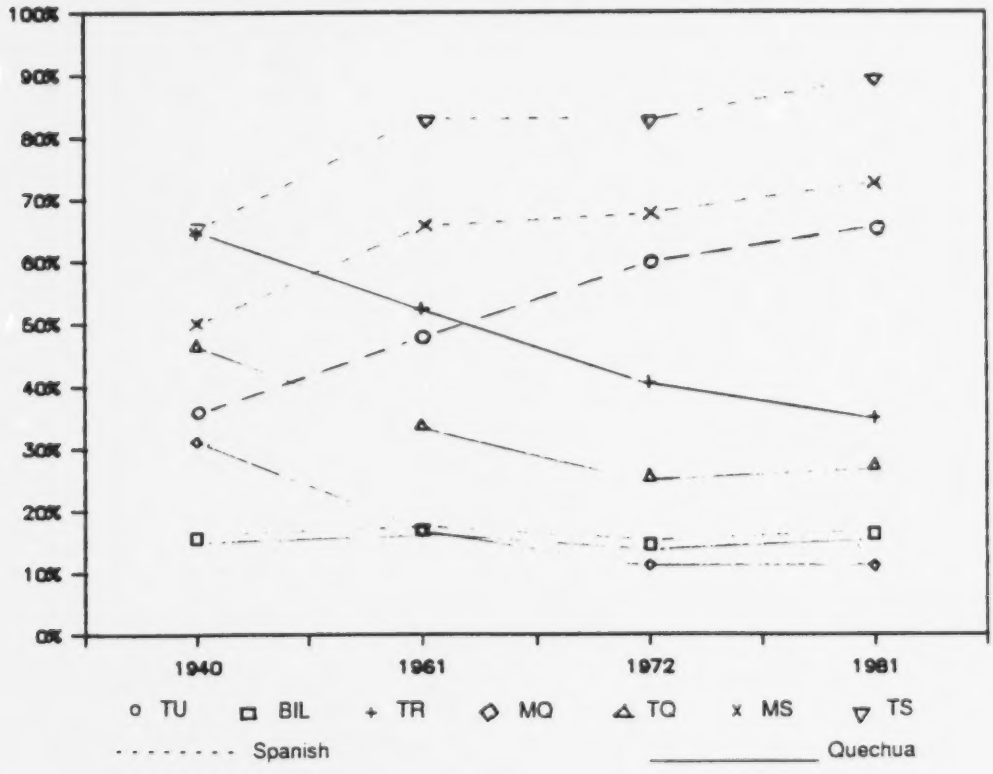
1.1. *Rationales*

The desideratum of the standardization of an unwritten language is usually taken for granted and its rationale seldom questioned. It appears, however, not at all obvious that the elaboration of a standard norm is desirable for all languages.

Quechua has survived colonialism, repression and domination by Spanish for almost half a millennium, although it is evident that increasing contact and bilingualism with the colonial language has reduced Quechua monolingualism and, thereby, accelerated language shift and loss, according to the chronological formula:

$$M_{qu} \rightarrow B_{qu>sp} \rightarrow B_{qu=sp} \rightarrow B_{sp>qu} \rightarrow M_{sp}$$

I.e., monolingualism in Quechua is often followed by bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish with Quechua the dominant language, succeeded by ambilingualism where the two languages are about equal, later shifting to Spanish as the dominant language, and terminating in Spanish monolingualism and the extermination of Quechua. That this development has proceeded in many communities and individuals especially during the second half of this century, accelerated by and correlated with, increasing urbanization, is clearly borne out by language census data from Peru (cf. Wölck, 1990:37f. and von Gleich, 1982:27) which are displayed as a graph synopsis below.



Legend: TU = Total Urban; BIL(ingual); TR = Total Rural; MQ = Monolingual Quechua; TQ = Total Quechua-speaking; MS = Monolingual Spanish; TS = Total Spanish-speaking.

It is quite conceivable and even plausible that Quechua had survived so well until recently because of the functional stability of Peruvian bilingualism, reserving rather separate roles to the two languages in useful and natural complementation for many distinct communicative situations. Attempts at political reforms by Velasco's populist government in favor of Quechuay - the Bilingual Education Act of 1972 and the short-lived officialization of Quechua in 1975 - seem to have raised the status of Quechua enough to halt its downslide. Notice that the graph for Quechua monolingualism remained stable in the seventies, and that bilingualism and, consequently, the total Quechua graphs only went up slightly.

In spite of these rather ineffectual legislative tokens, Quechua has so far practically remained a stable means of regular oral, face-to-face communication. If it ever succeeded in getting standardized, i.e., codified and normalized into a written medium it would then have to compete on the same functional level with Spanish, a language which is only second to English in its world-wide expansion and probably even stronger than English in its increasing role as a lingua franca in the Americas. It is doubtful that Quechua is up to this test and that it will come out of it stronger than before.

The arguments in favor of standardization are better known, at least the three major ones, and need here only be repeated briefly: It raises the status of an otherwise merely spoken variety or a set of varieties to that of a "real" language and, thereby, contributes to a better identity of the (minority) group; it is virtually necessary for the implementation of formal (bilingual) education programs using the language not only as a subject but as a medium of instruction[2]; it is likely to help the survival of the language, viz., through the preservation of a body of literature, once such has been created. As a contribution to a symposium on language standardization the following comments will henceforward consider the creation of a common standard for Quechua as their goal and its desirability as axiomatic.

1.2. *Some characteristics of a standard language*

Before discussing some of the problems with the standardization of Quechua it is useful to recall the major characteristics and criteria of a standard language listed in the literature. Our sources are, in chronological order, Kloss (1952), Garvin and Mathiot (1956-1960), Ferguson and Gumperz (1960), Ray (1963), Haugen (1969), Kloss and McConnell (1978), Garvin (1989) and Ammon (1989). Even though they may use different terms, these colleagues all seem to agree on the following basic notions: A standard language has to be codified and normalized in order to fulfill the unifying function for its constituent speech community. This involves the selection of reference norms and the codification of grammar and dictionary forms. It is one of the more difficult requirements of this reference norm that it not only be stable but flexible so it can accommodate and adjust to, new needs and changes (Garvin, 1989:18). In order to fulfill the functions of modern scientific, technological, administrative and educational communication a standard language has to be intellectualized. Near synonyms for Garvin's intellectualization (1989:22) used among the authors cited above are his own earlier term urbanization (1960), modernization (Haugen, 1969), and cultivation (Kloss, 1978; Ammon, 1989) which, like urbanization, refers especially to the elaboration of lexical domains and the propagation of functions from hitherto mostly rural into more urban contexts. These are considered as necessary linguistic correlates of a society's achievement of modernization.

Most authors agree and many state explicitly that the development of a written norm is a necessary part of the process of standardization. Ray (1963) considers writing "primary" and speech "secondary", Ferguson and Gumperz (1960) list its use as a written medium as a defining criterion of a language, and in our studies and surveys (cf. Wölck, 1978) we found the literacy/orality difference to be the main popular distinguishing criterion between a language and a dialect.[3] We should, therefore, add graphization - the development of some orthography - and literalization, which refers to those structural-functional characteristics of written communication beyond mere graphic representation, as further requirements of a standard language.

2. The present status of Quechua

Following Kloss (1978), Ammon (1989:80ff.) has proposed a set of criteria for measuring the degree of cultivation and codification of languages. One of these refers to the kinds of text produced in the language. They are, in increasing order of importance:
1. Key text translations (e.g., the Bible, Marx's *Capital*);
2. printed poetry and fictional prose;
3. non-fictional prose in the oral media and formal speeches;
4. non-fictional (expository) writing.

Except for the Bible, which has been translated by missionaries for centuries, lately mostly by Protestant proselytes, there are hardly any translations into Quechua of any major key texts of world literature. There is quite an amount of printed poetry, very little prose fiction.[4] Quechua's strongest showing is probably in the third category, i.e., oral use in the media, especially by local rural Andean radio stations. In the last, most heavily weighted category, Quechua is very weak; weaker, in fact, nowadays than during early colonial times, when apparently more use of Quechua was still being made in expository writing. On this scale of "cultivation", Quechua does not even rank as high (or low) as the Low German dialect(s) of Northern Germany, and probably lower than the Swiss German dialect(s) ("Schwyzerdütsch"), i.e., it is still in the lower half of the cultivation scale.

A grading by topics and domains distinguishes
1. cultural topics relating to the speakers themselves; from
2. other topics in the humanities; from
3. natural science and technology.

Within these, three levels of sophistication can be identified: popular, advanced, and academic. The use of Quechua is practically confined to the first topic, and definitely on a popular level only.

Ammon's scale for measuring the codification of a language lists the following steps (1989:89): Existence of 1. - model speakers; 2. - model writers; 3. - spelling rules; 4. - a defining dictionary (lexicon); 5. - pronunciation rules; 6. - a prescriptive grammar; 7. - a stylistic code. Here the codification of Quechua in Peru already stops short of having decided upon spelling norms, though in Ecuador it has achieved that stage, but little more.

3. Unification and normalization

Before any codification can take place, a more unified form of the language must be selected or elaborated. With respect to this task our two countries, Peru and Ecuador, have very different pre-conditions.

3.1. *Peru's dialect maze*

Peru's Quechua is divided into a multitude of "roofless" (Kloss' term) dialects, seemingly so divergent as to approach mutual unintelligibility. Their number depends on the criteria of their analysts; some wildly particularist structuralist phonologists have raised their number into the hundreds - to the utter frustration of even the most well-meaning politicians considering the officialization of Quechua - more conservative, sensible linguists have agreed on no fewer than six very distinct major Peruvian varieties (cf. Escobar et al., 1976), for some of which semi-official alphabets had been developed in 1975 and 1985 (Ministerial Resolutions nos. 4023-75 and 1218-85). The question frequently asked is: Which of these dialects would be a suitable candidate for national adoption? There are two major contenders; the dialect of the archeological capital of South America and the last Peruvian Incaic capital, viz., Cuzco, whose Quechua Language Academy has long claimed the throne of all Quechuas, or Ayacuchano, spoken by the largest number of people in the south central Andes, mutually intelligible not only with Cuzquenian but with Bolivian and perhaps even Ecuadorian Quichua. History against quantity of communicators: What a choice!

Or might it be a good idea to re-create the "Quechua General" codified in 1583 at the Third Council of Lima in colonial times, as suggested by Taylor (cf. Normalización, 1989:40); or to reconstruct some kind of "original" Quechua of the Incaic period - such as the Cuzco Quechua Language Academy used to produce for the ritual declamations at the Inti Raymi, the summer solstice festival put on against the magnificent backdrop of the Sacsayhuaman fortress near Cuzco mostly for the benefit of foreign tourists who could pay for the seats on the grandstand. On the other side of the mountain the locals were squatting on the ground to watch the spectacle from a distance. When I asked them how they enjoyed the ceremony in their own language, they expressed regret at not being able to understand it and told me they thought it was in English for the tourists.

When searching for the best contemporary or historical variety to standardize one should bear in mind that none of the world's major standard languages is based mostly or entirely on one of its constituent (historical) dialects. It is well known that, standard English, German, or Italian, for example, have grown gradually through a process of amalgamation of features from several different dialects (for German, cf. Goossens, 1977).

3.2. *A new General Quechua*

Ever since a visit to Huaraz and Huaylas in the early seventies, where I managed to muddle through with my rather rudimentary knowledge of something between Cuzqueño and Ayacuchano, I have been rather suspicious of the strong claims about the wide Quechua dialect differences. In 1974 Torero had already claimed that fundamental structural similarities were binding the various Quechua dialects into a

common language, without going into details. Some informal intelligibility tests with tape recordings from different Quechua dialects brought me to claim the characteristics of "internal cohesion" among each other and "external distinctiveness" vis-a-vis adjoining languages for this as yet unstandardized language (Wölck, 1978 & 1987). After the six grammars and dictionaries for as many Peruvian varieties of Quechua had been prepared (Escobar et al., 1976) I had an excellent basis for making a more systematic comparison between them. The results were surprising, though not entirely unexpected, and gave more substance to the rather vague "internal cohesion" criterion postulated above: It turns out that all six dialects share the same cognitive semantic structure. They have exactly the same categories and, as far as can be established, the same relevance hierarchy among them.

These structural commonalities should not be confused with some abstract "deep" structures in an early TG sense. Some of them reach as much into the "surface" as phonological processes. Even on the lexical level there is apparently less divergence than often claimed (cf. Soto's list, 1990:209). These obvious commonalities, against which the often noted differences now appear to be quite minor, could be taken as the starting base for the elaboration of a real General Quechua.

Such an endeavor, by the way, is not as fantastic as it sounds. There is at least one famous historical precedent[5]. The early work on the standardization of Modern Norwegian (Nynorsk) by Ivar Aasen (1836 and 1853; cf. also Haugen, 1965). Rather than selecting one of the many competing more or less dialectal varieties, he found what he called a structural "midpoint" around which all dialects could be shown to cluster or revolve, and elaborated or, rather, constructed his proposed standard variety on that basis (Aasen, 1853-1985:83ff.). Such a standard would be endowed with the structural richness of all its constituent varieties. Even disregarding the differences that are due to the functional properties of a written language, all the standard varieties I know are structurally different from, and usually more complex than, any one of their constituent oral dialect varieties with which I am acquainted.

3.3. *The Ecuadorean koiné*

The case of Ecuador is very different from that of Peru. First, it appears that its Quichua was superimposed on other autochthonous languages during the Incaic imperial expansion and later further established as a lingua franca by southern traders. This would account for the relatively minor degree of dialect differentiation. In spite of Fauchois' arduous efforts to show these especially on the phonological level (1988:46-74), the differences are too small to cause any real communication problems. This, together with the strong degree of political mobilization of the Ecuadorian indigenous population, has recently given the Quichua language in Ecuador increasing power and status, especially in the primary education sector. The unification task was, therefore, relatively easy, and has at least led to the semi-official adoption of an 'alfabeto único' already quite a few years ago. Ecuador's problem is of quite a different nature and as yet largely unrecognized: Its Quichua is structurally impoverished - 'pauperrizado' according to Cerrón-Palomino (1987:344) through centuries of internal levelling and pidginization with Spanish.
The difference in the first vowel of its name, Quichua, from the southern form, Quechua, is but one superficial indication of this process, to which the southern distinction between /k/ and /q/, which lowered vowels next to the velar, fell victim in Ecuador. Not only has the distinction between exclusive and inclusive plurals

process of changing from its original polysynthetic agglutinating type to a more analytical one. A form like the one for 'our guinea pig', in the south (e.g., in Ayacucho) either *qowinchik* if inclusive of the addressee, or *qowiyku* if excluding him, is ñucanchic cuicu for both in Ecuador (as in the title for Lesson 13 in Cotocachi et al., 1988:143) which, translated literally into Spanish or English, would correspond to 'nosotros cuy' or 'we guinea pig', not even to 'nuestro cuy' or 'our guinea pig'.[8]

3.4. *Graphication or: the alphabet craze*

As Soto in one of the most recent discussions of the problems with deciding upon Quechua orthography has correctly pointed out (1990:199-202), a standardized writing system is not only a fundamental means in the language unification process but equally necessary for its modernization. With all due respect for the importance of this task, I think that too much time, ink and paper has by now been spent or wasted on this issue to the neglect of many equally and more important ones. Unfortunately the quantity and fervor of the discussions was seldom matched by their quality. Two misconceptions seem to reappear in most of them, which are likely to prevent any satisfactory and speedy solution.

The first one is the 'phonemicist myth', the assumption that a writing system has to be 'phonemic', which goes back to the rather unfortunate sub-title of K.L. Pike's rightly famous book *Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing* (1947). There is not a single orthography for an established Standard language I know which fulfills that criterion, though the spellings often preserve morphophonemic structure. Besides, there are so many old and new phonological theories that it would be impossible to decide, e.g., how "deep" such phonemicization should actually go. I have nothing against 'reducing' Quechua to three vowels to preserve its typicality or uniqueness, but spelling Ecuadorian [čUmbI] as *chunpi* and [zambU] as *zanpu* carries the application of phonological rules and processes too far into the writing system. There is already a new oral recitation and reading variety of Ecuadorian Quichua developing among the students in bilingual schools a so-called 'Quichua escolar' with some rather weird spelling pronunciations. Admittedly every spelling system has effected special reading pronunciations, Siebs' recommended standard for stage German (1957) being a well-known example.

The second is the notion that once an ideal spelling system has been manufactured, proposed and possibly legislated, it can be taught to many people who will then produce a wealth of materials in literary Quechua. Obviously much of the world's important literature was produced long before any formal standardization processes had occurred for its languages, and formal schooling long predated orthographic standardization. Until nearly the end of the last century, when Konrad Duden published his orthographic dictionary (1880), German did not have a uniform orthography. Publishing houses had their own spelling conventions, schools had to hold special teachers' conferences to agree on spellings. In 1862 a Prussian ministerial decree was necessary to insure that no more than one orthography was taught at the same school (cf. Drosdowski 1980:2).

What this means is that orthographies grow naturally and gradually, they develop through usage. Obviously they need some professional guidance, and once there is

some 'official' recommendation or adoption, it surely cannot be for six alphabets for the same language. What is needed is some resolution soon. Almost any resolution is better than none; the language and its users will still choose their own ways as the Ecuadorian example seems to show, which should be followed by Peru even though her conditions are less favorable.

4. The urbanization of Quechua

The modernization of an unwritten language, whose structure serves the primary function of oral face-to-face communication in mostly rural settings, into a medium of more depersonalized, supra-regional communication and a vehicle for technological advancement goes very far beyond finding it a viable orthography.

4.1. *Lexicalization*

The only aspect of this modernization that has hitherto received popular attention is that of necessary lexical changes or innovations. Again, some of the efforts on record are exaggerated as, for example, the otherwise laudable attempts by Ecuadorean school book authors (Cotocachi et al., 1988) to create a grammatical terminology for third and fourth graders. Some of their coinage are *shuti* for 'noun', *imac* for subject, *imachic* for verb or *imashca* for predicate. These are reasonable and close enough in semantic association to their original denotations (e.g.,'name' and 'who-what' for the first two, though the last two forms are denominals and, therefore, less fortunate choices. What pedagogical or linguistic justification, however, could such concepts as 'nominalization', 'morpheme' or 'nucleus' possibly have in a fourth grade primer[7], let alone their folksy Quichua neo-correpondences: *shutiyay* 'make a name'; *shimicu* 'little mouth' and *shuncu* 'heart'. (cf. also von Gleich (1989b) for further discussion of Quechua terminology.) Here, I think, it is time to curb the semantic imagination of some budding junior language planners, well intentioned as they might be, and to guide their enthusiasm along more productive channels. Some native terms, especially for simple, basic structural units, can be very useful in facilitating children's cognitive representations of the structure of their language, as were terms like 'Tu-Wort' ("do-word") for verb or 'Ding-Wort' ("thing-word") for noun in the second grade of my German elementary school. Concepts like nominalization, morphemes and syllable nuclei, however, belong to the advanced technical terminology of an international professional community of linguists, identified as such through their classic Graeco-Latin forms - inspite of efforts by some iconoclast transformationalists to replace them by cute basic English.

4.2. *Grammatization*

That there is a whole set of other problems to be solved on the way to Quechua literalization is very convincingly shown by my favorite example, the not entirely amusing incident during my visit to one of the bilingual primary schools near Quito a few years ago, already recorded in the two previous articles in this series (Wölck, 1990a and b). A teacher was gravely reprimanding her students for omitting the '-mi' in readings of the following sentence in their primer (Machi Achic, 1987:114):

'Huihuacunaca chacra pachapi-MI mirarin.'

[farm-animals field on-top-of(I know or saw) copulate]
(I saw, I know that) the farms animals multiply in the pasture.

Since this otherwise commendable realistic description of farm life events had not, or perhaps even should not have, actually been witnessed by the students, they could obviously not attest to it and assert it with the appropriate evidential marker '-mi'. This rather cute story has, however, an important deeper message:

There are features and categories in a unwritten language like Quechua, necessary and appropriate, even obligatory for its function in face-to-face interaction, which make no sense at all in depersonalized, objective descriptions. In the grammar of (spoken) Quechua discourse cohesion markers and utterance evidentials or speech act markers are at the highest - or deepest, i.e., most obligatory level of its cognitive linguistic structure. On the other hand, third person, i.e., non-person agent marking, and the passivization and relativization processes dependent upon it, still lack proper status in (monolingual) Quechua (cf. Wölck, 1987:80-94) and would have to be further developed to serve the purpose and function of 'objective' expository written prose. So would time and tense markers, which have so far played only a minor role in this pre-industrialized language (cf. Wölck, 1991). So far, these problems have only been noted by two other scholars concerned with the modernization of Quechua (Fauchois, 1988 and von Gleich, 1989a and 1989b), though hints at this problem keep appearing in discussions of the 'normalization' of Quechua for educational purposes, e.g., by Cerrón-Palomino and Sichra (cf. Normalización, 1989:49).[8] The structural, categorial differences between an unwritten language and a modern standard written language that is capable of satisfying and fulfilling functions of communication less dependent upon speaker identity or situational space relations and more explicit about time and tense than aspect, are enormous and not yet well enough researched and understood to properly guide a process of smooth and successful transition. It appears, however, to be the most relevant of the three structural levels discussed, although much more difficult to handle than spelling conventions and some lexical innovations.

5. *Closing remarks*

Obviously the success of the Quechua standardization process will eventually depend mainly on the political power and commitment of its own constituency. The recent success in this respect achieved by the Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, who only a few years ago were babes in the woods when Peru was officializing Quechua and

celebrating bilingual education acts, clearly speaks for itself. As linguists and occasional planning advisers to Andean nations, we should remember with Soto (1990:205) not to lose sight of the supposed beneficiaries - or victims - of our plans, the individual members of the Quechua speech community, when we expound linguistic, sociolinguistic or political theories. They deserve our best efforts, but we should not presume to manufacture an ideal, fool-proof instrument for them to use. It can and, perhaps, should be rough enough for them to shape according to their wishes and functional needs. Before waxing still more metaphorical, let me argue for finding a constructive balance between encouraging more contributions from the native

constituency and tolerating blatant dilletantism, although most of it does not seem to originate among the Quechuas themselves rather than among mostly self-serving Hispanophones eager to milk the golden calf of bilingual education programs funded by foreign governments. Not everything is equally important. Setting priorities and observing them is hard but necessary if any real progress is to be made. Whatever measures are being proposed, observing the difference between prescription and proscription is vital. Tolerance and flexibility need to be the application modes of even the best thought-out plans. Collaboration between scholars and authorities in the three Andean republics with the largest Quechua constituencies, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, is fortunately quite good and should be extended to consider the long-range goal of a common Quechua for all Quechuas, to increase their weight not only in linguistic decisions concerning them.

By far the most important force in standardizing the Quechua language is its actual use in writing, especially in creative writing. Only when there is knowledge and pleasure to be gained from reading Quechua will there be a natural desire to learn to read it and, eventually, to write it. The promotion of the production of Quechua literature is, therefore, not merely a useful side aspect, but should be a central concern of the Quechua standardization movement.

Notes

1. This essay is the third in a series of treatments of similar problems in Ecuador and Peru. The reader is referred to Wölck, 1990a and 1990b for earlier discussions. As before, I am here using the form Quechua when referring to this language as a whole, including Ecuadorean Quichua.

2. In my work with the Senecas, one of the Iroquoian Nations, an their bilingual education program, I learned that it was impossible to prepare acceptable materials or construct a viable curriculum for an elementary or high school program in the absence of a codified written version of their language. Today's public schools and their teachers are unfortunately not prepared to teach primarily or exclusively through the oral medium.

3. This popular criterion is very likely the reason why the indigenous languages of South America are commonly referred to as "dialectos" in Spanish.

4. Apparently there exists a translation of St. Exupéry's *Le petit prince* and of García Marquez' *Cien años de soledad* into Quechua (U. von Gleich, personal communication).

5. I owe these references to Einar Haugen and Kurt Braunmüller.

6. For its final adaptation to the functions of a written medium, the effect of some of these simplifications is not necessarily bad. The disappearance of the distinction between the two plurals might already be one of those features less necessary, if only less frequent in depersonalized written communication. So would be the gradual disappearance of evidentials, though the least useful in written communication, viz., the assertive '-mi' is, curiously enough, the best preserved in

Ecuadorean Quichua (see below), while the much more useful reportive (southern '-si') and dubitative (-chi) have already practically disappeared.

7. When I recently visited a sixth grade German lesson at a bilingual school in Hungary I was amazed and somewhat dismayed to watch the teacher proudly having her students divide words into stem-morphemes and endings ("Stammorphem und Endungen"). As ludicrous as I still think this is, it goes to show that children will learn almost anything if an inspiring teacher is able to instill into them the desire to learn and to know. -
   The Peruvian efforts have been discussed in some more detail in a recent conference presentation by von Gleich (1989b).

8. They decry the fact that written texts are only calqued from oral literature and show no degree of elaboration ["... textos escritos ... calcan la literatura oral y no ofrecen un grado de elaboración ..."] and ask for the achievement of a necessary qualitative change of the language on its passage from oral to written usage ["... desarrollar ... el cambio cualitativo de la lengua; es decir su paso necesario de la oralidad hacia la escritura."]

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ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN ASHANINKA (EASTERN PERU)

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Preliminary remarks

The Ashaninka experience I am referring to in the following pages should be seen as a truncated one. After having developed activities over a period of almost 4 years (starting in 1984) in more than twenty primary schools along the Rio Tambo in Eastern Peru the political circumstances became more and more unfavourable so that by the end of 1987 the members of the CAAAP (Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica) running the Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe were obliged to leave the area. Activities so far had included ethnolinguistic research, elaboration of textbooks, and training courses for native teachers. The Proyecto moved to the capital of the province and tried to continue work from a distance for some years but this turned out only partially successful. Nevertheless I think that the Proyecto at least succeeded - apart from a series of textbooks and reference works on the language - in establishing and institutionalizing a Summer School in La Merced with a training program open to any native student of the area interested in teaching according to the basic principles of bilingual education. This program continues so far under increasing pressure for constant lack of funds. One has to be aware of the fact that in order to maintain what has been achieved there is great need of perseverance and tenacity in view of the political and economic circumstances the country has to cope with these days.

1. The language

Most linguists refer to the language as "Campa" and identify the geographical varieties by means of hyphenated precisions like Campa-Ashaninka, Campa-Asheninca, Campa-Axininca, Campa-Pajonalino, Campa-Caquinte, Campa-Nomatsiguenga.[1] Many native speakers, however, consider "Campa" insulting although there seems to be no awareness of what the term really means. It might be associated with the Quechua word *t'ampa* 'filthy, lousy'. The term *a-shaninka*, on the other hand, with the a-prefix indicating the inclusive plural, means simply 'our people'. "Ashaninka", then, is widely used as a term of self-reference by the speakers although the regional pronunciation of the word may vary. However, among the subgroups that live in permanent contact with the mestizo society there is also a tendency to identify themselves as "Campa-Ashaninka" externally. This may be somewhat confusing for the outsider but it is certainly no contradiction. I think one has to accept "Ashaninka" as the most adequate term, thus respecting the growing sense of ethnicity among the speakers.

Quite another problem is the linguistic distance between the varieties as perceived by linguists and the speakers themselves. Genetically, all the varieties mentioned (also including other more distant languages like Piro, Amuesha, Machiguenga) constitute the so-called Pre-Andine Arawak group. However, as far as actual intercommunication

between speakers is concerned there is "almost no difference" between what is identified as "Axininca" and "Asheninca" (the distinction being based mainly on the different vowel systems: three vowels in Axininca versus four in Asheninca). To the speakers the distinction is almost an artificial one. Asheninca and Ashaninka, on the other hand, are clearly perceived as "quite different ways of speaking", but there would be no problem as to mutual understanding. Any other so-called variety such as Caquinte and Nomatsiguenga is perceived as "another language". An Ashaninka speaker for instance would be able to recognize similarities when listening to Nomatsiguenga but it would be difficult for him to tell what the discourse is all about. Any decision-making - and the conclusion seems only trivial - concerning possible strategies of unification would have to deal with the Axininca/Asheninca complex first, and then with the Asheninca/Ashaninka one.

According to Payne (1981:5), the distribution of the Ashaninka, Asheninca and Axininca varieties is as follows:

> The Ashaninca, Asheninca and Axininca are located in the eastern *montaña* of Peru, extending eastward into Brazil. Much still remains unknown in understanding the dialect situation within this subgrouping of Campa. The distinctions are somewhat problematic because of the mobility and intermingling of the people from the various dialect areas. The following dialects have been distinguished to date; however, there are definitely some further dialectal differences within those listed here:
> Ashaninca: spoken on the Apurimac, Ene, Mantaro, Tambo, lower Urubamba, and lower Perené rivers and tributaries of these.
> Pajonal Asheninca: spoken in the Gran Pajonal region.
> Perené Asheninca: spoken on the upper Perené river and tributaries.
> Pichis Asheninca: spoken on the Pichis river and tributaries, except the Apurucayali.
> Ucayali Asheninca: spoken on the headwaters of the tributaries of the Ucayali.
> Axininca: spoken on the Apurucayali river and tributaries and possibly on the Arruya river.

2. **Writing**

As experience has shown, there are always little skirmishes going on between those who clearly favour "phonemically correct" writing systems with a 1:1 correspondence between phoneme and grapheme and those who plead for more pragmatism in the making of alphabets. It is often thought that phonemic correctness in writing is synonymous with simplicity and clarity, but I find that this is not necessarily so. Each language should be considered as a case apart, and the nature of the perceived relation between a vernacular and the national language might also be of some importance and should be taken into account. I shall deal with this point in *Problems of acceptance*.

The writing system opted for in the Rio Tambo project is a phonemic one. The phonemes and graphemes of Ashaninka are:

1. three voiceless stops /p,t,k/, written *p,t,k*,
2. two voiceless assibilants /c,č/, written *ts,ch*,

3. two voiceless sibilants /s,š/, written *s,sh*,
4. one voiced bilabial fricative /β/, written *v*,
5. one voiceless glottal fricative /h/, written *j*,
6. one voiced flap /ɾ/, written *r*,
7. two voiced nasals /m,n/, written *m,n*,
8. one voiced semiconsonant /y/, written *y*,
9. two high closed front vowels /ɨ,ī/, written *i,ii*,
10. two mid closed front vowels /e,ē/, written *e,ee*,
11. two low open central vowels /a,ā/, written *a,aa*,
12. two mid closed back vowels /o,ō/, written *o,oo*.

Graphemes are simple and composed.

Some of the phonemes have allophones in well-defined contexts, however, the fact is not rendered in the writing system:

/k/ is voiced following /n/, but not consistently so,
the same holds true for /p/ and /t/ following /m/ and /n/ respectively, with still less frequency,
/n/ is velarized when preceding /k/,
palatalization of /t/ and /n/ occurs sometimes before /i/ or /e/, a fact mainly due to Asheninca influences (migration),
/v/ is rounded before /a/,
nasals combine with any one of the vowel phonemes, but they are in complementary distribution when preceding consonants, thus /m/ occurs before /p/ and /n/ before /t,c,č,k/.

3. **The spelling of Spanish loans**

Ashaninka has incorporated a great number of loans, first from Quechua and in recent years also increasingly from Spanish. The often quite heated discussion about the *necessity* of loans from the majority language into the vernacular (e.g., Montoya 1987) may be of relevance when it comes to design strategies of language use in view of a perceived dominance of the majority language. In this context, however, we should distinguish basically between those Spanish elements that advanced bilinguals frequently "quote" (whatever the reason may be) when speaking Ashaninka and others which are adapted to the native phonemic system and fully incorporated into the lexicon and not necessarily identifiable as loans for Ashaninka monolinguals. I think that decision-making here only applies to those elements already fully incorporated. It seems only natural that those Spanish loans are spelled according to the native alphabet, and it is for this solution that the Tambo project has opted as illustrated in the following examples:

aroso 'arroz (rice)', *ishikoira* 'escuela (school)', *piira* 'pila (battery)', *atoo* 'atún (canned tuna)', *paperi* 'papel (paper)', *kotsiro* 'cuchillo (knife)', *karatocho* 'cartucho (cartridge)', *kajee* 'café (coffee)'.

From the mere Ashaninka way of spelling these loans one may already draw certain conclusions as to the Ashaninka sound system and syllable structure, e.g., no consonant is admitted in word-final position, no consonant clusters are allowed except

in cases where the first element is a nasal, Spanish *u* appears as *o*, etc.
Another case which might call for a different treatment is the problem of proper names. A few decades ago it was still normal that the natives were called by a native name such as *Chakami* 'trompetero (trumpeter bird)' and in addition to it maybe by a Spanish one that used to serve, however, only as a nickname. The actual situation is quite different. We meet almost exclusively Spanish first names and in most areas also a predominance of Spanish surnames, while native names are used only sporadically and mainly as nicknames. In the Tambo area Spanish first names are fully adopted to native pronunciation and syllable structure so that the project has opted for an Ashaninka spelling, e.g.,

> 'Matías' appears as *Matiashi* in the textbooks, 'Rosa' as *Iroosa*, 'Luisa' as *Iroisa*, etc.

I admit, however, that a nativizing of the spelling of these names for pedagogical reasons in an initial stage in mother tongue textbooks is not necessarily the solution to the problem as such. The use of Spanish surnames is spreading due to migration and other factors. Would it be necessary in the near future to spell all the names according to the Spanish alphabet or should there be a kind of "mixed solution" depending on the context of use? There are quite a number of logically possible solutions, and I have seen examples of practically all of them in the writing of Amazonian languages. I believe that the final solution will depend not only on pedagogical or linguistic reasoning but is also to a great extent a problem of strategy in a context of a growing sense of ethnicity.

The problem may be different with geographical names. Place-names in the Ashaninka area can be easily identified on etymological grounds, and the spelling quite often follows the Spanish alphabet, but the everyday practice is quite chaotic. Thus one would normally find

1. Ashaninka names like Cushireni, Mazarobeni,
2. Spanish names like Puerto Ocopa, Cerro Picaflor,
3. combinations like Santa Rosa de Ubiriqui, San Juan de Cheni.

The most reasonable solution here would be to spell the Ashaninka elements according to the Ashaninka alphabet, and the Spanish ones following the rules of Spanish orthography. But once again, the question is a complex one because the Spanish spelling of Ashaninka elements in place-names has been practiced for centuries.

4. New lexical items

The incorporation of new lexical items is not only realized by means of loans, but also quite frequently through coining based on native linguistic material resulting in nominalized forms of verbal roots or derivations. There are four nominalizer suffixes used in this way: *-mento*,
-re,
-ro,
-ane.

Examples of such coinings are:

tonkamentotsi 'escopeta (shotgun)'
arakomentotsi 'avioneta (small plane)'
sonkarentsi 'antara (Reed flute)'
ovetsikanentsi 'fabricación (manufacture)'.

Such examples are very numerous, above all with *-mento*, and recently also with *-ane*, especially for abstract nouns. When discussing problems of mathematical terminology with the native teachers I proposed a word like

tsipatanentsi 'suma, conjunto (sum, set)',

derived from a verbal root *tsipa-* 'juntar (join, put together)', and it met with immediate acceptance although it was never used before. However, acceptance in such an initial 'laboratory' stage does not guarantee a term's longevity.

5. **Parallel terms**

There are instances of parallel terms in Ashaninka where a Spanish loan is used alongside a native term in cases like

perato 'plato (plate)'
oantamentotsi 'plato (plate)',

where the second term is one of the *-mento*-derivations literally meaning 'something to eat from'. Both terms are used for the recently introduced plates made of plastic or enamel while the traditional earthen plate is called *metaro*. There is no doubt about *perato* being a Spanish loanword, but it is quite difficult to say whether *oantamentotsi* is a recent coining also due to the appearance of the new cultural artifact. One might feel a certain inclination to eliminate the loan in favour of *oantamentotsi* in an attempt to standardize vocabulary use in textbooks. But decision-making should not be regarded as that simple. At closer examination one finds out that *oantamentotsi* may refer to the newly introduced artifact as well as to the traditional one while *perato* may not. Thus, *oantamentotsi* has a general and a specific meaning, and there would be no reason to exclude *perato*, having only a specific one. Such cases are increasing in number and a premature decision should be avoided.

6. **Problems of special terms**

In the Rio Tambo experience materials were developed mainly in the school subject of language. Problems of language use and special terminology in other subjects such as mathematics were frequently discussed with the native teachers and parents. But a decision was never made that might have become corroborated experimentally because of the special circumstances I mentioned at the beginning.

The problem is - as in many Amazonian languages - that the numerical system is barely developed in Ashaninka.

The numerals used are:

1 *aparo*
2 *apite*
3 *mava*
4 *otsipa*
5 *apapakoro*

Otsipa may be literally traduced as 'one more' and *apapakoro* as 'one hand'. All that passes the quantity of 'five' or 'one hand' is

osheki 'much, many'.

I also heard sometimes *apipakoro* for 'ten' (literally 'two hands'), but most speakers would classify it as uncommon. The question was: If there is no such thing as a numerical system as *we* conceive it, and, consequently, no adequate terminology for arithmetical operations (not to mention set theory), if this is so, is there any need to develop one? An alternative might be to use Spanish numerals right from the start, thus incorporating them as loans from the very beginning. And if so, how would this affect the use of L1 and L2 in the different subjects and subsequent school years? Having in mind a more or less well-defined strategy as to the use of L1 and L2 as a teaching subject and teaching language within the whole cycle of primary education, the problem turns out to be quite a substantial one. How to handle it? Any decision to be made would make sense only if it finds acceptance among speakers. Now those who really handle arithmetics are those who are in permanent contact with the mestizo society on commercial grounds, and it is natural enough that bilingualism is highly advanced among these speakers. The parents among them would definitely reject the introduction of any kind of numerical system based on native concepts and native linguistic material.

I cannot offer a solution. However, I would like to mention an interesting experience. It is the case of Antonio, a chaman highly influential among the more traditional Ashaninkas but at the same smiled at by some of the others. He had almost no commercial relations whatsoever with the mestizos, and there was no material need for him personally to learn to count.

He has made up an Ashaninka numerical system of his own and keeps declaring that he received it many years ago through divine inspiration (and sometimes he would declare it with a certain smile). It is definitely elaborated in close parallel to the Spanish system, but at the same time completely conforms with the agglutinating structure of Ashaninka morphology, thus identifying a decimal suffix, a centesimal one, a millesimal one, and so forth, theoretically ad infinitum. He thus "nativized" the Spanish way of counting without having to use any Spanish element. He even created his own way of writing the numbers, although his ciphers resemble somewhat the Spanish one.

An example may illustrate Antonio's system:

3	*mava*
30	*mavani*
33	*mavani mava*
300	*mavanini*
333	*mavanini mavani mava*
3000	*mavaniri*
	etc.

Antonio has a small blackboard of his own, and when he also happens to have some chalk at his disposal he will demonstrate his system to anybody interested in it. And in fact, I have been able to observe a growing interest. Those people who know more than the numbers from 1 to 5 admit to having learned them from Antonio.

I have presented Antonio's concept to the native bilingual teachers and we had many interesting conversations as to its advantages, disadvantages and acceptability. The conclusion was that it might well be introduced experimentally in areas with a relatively low intensity of contact with the mestizo population. And this is indeed what the experimenter himself, Antonio, is doing. He would never stop disseminating his ideas.

Antonio's concern is basically one of linguistic prestige: what is normal in Spanish can be (re)created with the same degree of exactitude and efficiency in Ashaninka. The implications, though, are manifold. A discussion of the possible advantages of this type of innovation may always be useful.

7. **Problems of acceptance**

The Rio Tambo project did not really introduce a completely new writing system. There had been previous efforts of writing Ashaninka by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). A complete set of SIL primary school textbooks is being reprinted again and again and distributed in the schools. When the CAAAP project started working in the area the SIL had already left it some years ago, and the SIL-trained native teachers declared themselves "abandoned" and unable to use SIL textbooks as indicated, mainly for methodological reasons. They kept receiving the materials but clearly expressed the necessity to have different ones for various reasons.

The Ashaninka alphabet as used by the SIL is basically the same as the one presented above, except that *k* is written as *c* and *qu* in the SIL alphabet. There was no reason to change it at all, although there might have been some discussion as to the use of *v* or any one of the composed graphemes. The writing as such is phonemically consistent and did not present any major problem in learning. The only problem I saw as to consistency was the use of *c/qu* where the only reason for introducing it was obviously one of easier transition to the Spanish alphabet. Consulting linguistic, pedagogical and psychological aspects with the teachers, there was agreement about changing *c* and *qu* for *k*. However, things were complicated considerably this way, and it seems to be a phenomenon that is known only too well. I shall illustrate the point with a passage from Tauli's book *Introduction to a theory of language planning:*

> "In new literary languages there may be various social, political, psychological, typographical and economic conditions in conflict with the phonemic principle. Nevertheless they should not be overestimated. They often depend on prejudices which should be combated, instead of yielding to them. E.A. Nida tells that in Spanish-speaking Latin America Indians often insist that the *k*-like phoneme should be written *c* before *a, o, u,* and *qu* before *i, e,* because this makes their language more like Spanish. Likewise in the French-speaking part of Africa many persons prefer to write *ou* instead of *u* for it seems more like French."

Then he almost gets angry and continues:

> "It would be scarcely wise to yield to such pressure and introduce such absurdities in a new orthography. Instead one should try to explain to the natives that their orthography is superior to that of French and Spanish (1968:131)."

A way of explaining to the natives how things really must be ... This may be all right for Tauli, but it is not that simple. It is one thing to argue from behind the desk, and another to have to answer for a decision in practice. When Tauli reports that the use of *c/qu* is thought of as better because it makes the language "more like Spanish" it is an argument which may be understood in two different ways:

1. it facilitates transition to Spanish,
2. it *looks* better because Spanish is the better language (whatever that may mean).

Now, as far as easier transition is concerned we have to take into account that k is also a letter of the Spanish alphabet, and it is used with extremely frequent words like 'kerosene', 'kilo' and the like (although the use is restricted). Thus, in fact, we have three ways of writing the *k*-phoneme in Spanish: *c - k - qu,* which makes the "easier transition" argument only partially acceptable. I may add that there is considerable confusion as to the use of *c* in writing Spanish because it also represents the *s*-phoneme - as do *s* and *z*. Taking seriously what could be meant by an easier transition, the question turns out to be quite a complex one (with some more points to touch upon). The group of some forty teachers the project has been working with was quite heterogeneous as far as knowledge of Spanish is concerned. Among them, the more advanced bilinguals would oppose the introduction of k in Ashaninka, and those with a more incipient knowledge of Spanish would clearly favour it.
The critics among them would point out that once the Ashaninka alphabet using k had been introduced in the first year and children had become familiar with it, then they would get quite confused when they started writing Spanish in the second year, and I have personally observed cases like

keso instead of *queso* 'cheese',
kasa instead of *casa* 'house'

and the like in children's exercise books, but this might as well be due to a lack of emphasis in teaching on the part of the teacher.

As to other SIL alphabets for Amazonian languages - and there are quite a number of them - the use of *k* versus *c/qu* is inconsistent. Personal conversations with SIL members have shown to me that the *k*-solution is clearly favoured on linguistic and

pedagogical grounds. However, I sometimes also heard statements like the following one: "We have so much material using *c/qu* printed and in stock that any possible change would cost us too much money."

It finally turned out that those native teachers who opposed the use of *k* would still use the new textbooks but simply change *k* for *c/qu* in their daily practice, which led to a certain amount of confusion.

I have dwelled on this point because I think that the *k*-problem is not an isolated one. It makes clear that any kind of decision-making only makes sense (in the long run) if there is a chance of its realization. I believe that the introduction or modification of a writing system necessarily has to count on the acceptance of the users. Decision-making should not be guided exclusively by scientific or purist criteria.

8. Towards a unification

I have made some indications about the Ashaninka language and its geographical varieties, and I did not want to enter into a more detailed analysis although there remains much to be discussed about the subject. Rather, I would like to conclude with some general remarks on what such a language-planning concept as "unification" might imply or be based upon.

The question that always arises in this context is whether there is a prestige variety which may serve as the base for a possible standard orthography. One has to consider that the social prestige of any variety of Ashaninka is closely related to the relative social status of its speakers, and this in itself may be seen as rather ambiguous. Prestige may depend upon the degree of occidentalization, associating advanced acculturation and advanced bilingualism with a relatively high prestige of the vernacular variety as used by these speakers. It may as well depend on the degree of maintenance of a more traditional way of living, associating low frequency of contact with the mestizo society with relative purity and high prestige of the variety spoken. However, this has nothing to do with the Ashaninka/Asheninca distinction. Thus, the most traditional group still using clothing made of bast is the Pajonalino group, which speaks Asheninca. At the other extreme we find the Asheninca of the upper Perené who are more advanced in their (modern) political organization than the other groups and also more occidentalized, using this consciously as a strategy that enables them to make ethnic claims. Linguistically and ethnically, the Ashaninka of the Ene and Tambo rivers also show some differentiation quite similar to that between the Pajonalino and the Perené group.

Numerically, the speakers of the Tambo variety constitute the largest group, but the criterion as such is hardly useful, because there is an increasing migration of Asheninca speakers into the area. Thus, criteria-finding turns out to be rather difficult. Unification, however, would not be impossible. It is feasible, for example, to design a basic alphabet common for all varieties (with additional graphemes where needed). I think that in the wake of a growing sense of *Gemeinschaft* and ethnic identity that is to be observed recently, there might be found a way acceptable for everybody speaking the language.

Note

1. There is an obvious lack of consistency in the spelling of these terms, which is mainly due to the fact that the different spellings reflect different approaches to writing the language. Some aspects of this problem are discussed further below.

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A CHARACTERIZATION OF ALPHABETICAL WRITING SYSTEMS

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Orthography plays a momentous role in arguments caused by language codification processes. Ideological positions find expression in its symbolic character to such an extent that a mere technical (i.e. phonological) approach to spelling problems is immediately found inadequate. I intend to analyse the way alphabetical writing systems are conceived and work, paying particular attention to the social constraints affecting different options.

This analysis is held to be applicable to any kind of alphabetical writing; but my field of experience is that of Romance languages and more specifically those spoken in the central area of the Romance-speaking territories: Catalan, Occitan, the so-called northern Italian dialects and Rhaeto-Romance. My description of writing systems proceeds from the Catalan and Occitan tradition of language codification. Both are subordinate languages; that is to say, they bear the competition of another language which has a dominant social position. But the situations of the two languages are very different. Catalan, on the one hand, is spoken by about 60% of a population of 10 million people; it is understood by almost 90% of the population, and has the status of an official language together with Spanish in the greater part of its area.[1] As far as standardization is concerned, it has a widely accepted and used codification, which has been developed on the basis of the official orthography established in 1913. According to this codification, different accents and some degree of lexical and grammatical variation are admitted. Occitan, on the other hand, has undergone a major language shift process to the advantage of French so that it is nowadays exclusively used as an in-group language. Apart from the variety spoken in Val d'Aran, a small valley in the Spanish Pyrenees under Catalan administration, Occitan has no official recognition at all. As for standardization, it is largely written following the orthographic rules of the Institut d'Estudis Occitans (IEO), published in Alibèrt's *Gramatica occitana* in 1935. Nevertheless, the system conceived by Frederic Mistral in the context of the literary renaissance of the 19th century is still in use. A codified variety exists, but different dialects are generally used in printing and public speeches.

Berry (1968, p. 737) mentions three reasons for making new alphabets. In his own words:

> "New alphabets are required principally for three purposes:
> (1) to provide for the first time a means of writing languages as yet unwritten or virtually so.
> (2) to provide auxiliary alphabets for languages which have already a standard script (e.g. Roman systems for Hebrew, Japanese, etc.).
> (3) to provide alternatives to standardized but for some reason inadequate writing systems (e.g. Spelling Reform)".

We should add a fourth purpose which is in a way similar to the third above: to provide standardized writing systems for languages with a written tradition but lacking

a unified orthography, as is often the case for subordinate languages; as indeed it was for Catalan and Occitan at the beginning of this century.

It is possible to refer to a codification tradition common to both Occitan and Catalan, even if the communication between the two cultures has not always been operative. Alibèrt explicitly took Fabra's work on Catalan[2] as a reference for his own: "We intend to develop in this *Grammar* the work initiated by our predecessors. Besides, we wish to take advantage of modern linguists' works and the example of the restoration of literary Catalan by the illustrious Pompeu Fabra." (Alibèrt, 1935, p. xxxv).[3] It has been shown in Lamuela and Murgades (1984) that there are interesting connections between the conception of language of the Prague School linguists and that underlying Fabra's codification of Catalan. In fact, this conception of language is not different from the one of that time. The Prague School made it explicit and operative in language planning. According to this conception of language, codification of subordinate languages aims at making them similar to national ones by establishing a so-called literary variety. This variety should fulfil high language functions and be the reference for the others; that is to say, the leading form in the language changes related to elaboration and a source of prestige for all the varieties of the language.

A functional view of language can be easily found in Fabra's texts; for instance 1932a: "The task of adjusting the written language cannot now be limited to the literary variety -excluding technical and other varieties; furthermore it must avoid any artificiality which might obstruct its diffusion" (pp. 117-118)[4]

Alibèrt, for his part, clearly expressed the mimetic character of the outcome of this kind of codification: "We know that our opponents will object that this restored language will be *artificial, incomprehensible* and *foreign* to all Languedocian-speaking regions.

They will forget that a literary language necessarily implies some artifice and archaism. If we want to have a language like French, Italian or Spanish, we should not refuse the conditions of existence of every literary language [...]

Finally, we will add that a language cannot be limited to just one region and one period of time. It must be the synthesis of the natural regional varieties of the whole nation and the synthesis of the language of old and modern writers." (1935, p. xxxix)[5]

These quotations could suggest that Fabra had a far more functional point of view than Alibèrt, and that is, in effect, what Kremnitz says (1986). In any case, as Kremnitz himself emphasizes, there is a close relationship between the two codifications and it is possible and useful to analyse both of them from the same perspective.

The duality between positive and negative aspects in such a conception of language clearly appears in Alibèrt's last quotation. On the one hand, he shows his concern about language restoration and argues that a certain degree of artificiality is necessary in the configuration of any literary language. According to him artificiality is a common trend of all European literary languages. But he does not justify this assertion, as he might, by pointing out the functional requirements of high varieties.[6]

On the other hand, he faces the problems of continuity in literary tradition and of coping with dialectal diversity.

The artificial character of literary languages (i.e. the distance between them and the usual spoken language) is caused by two separate features which have rarely been differentiated: intellectualization (or adaptation to abstract use) and formal character (or adequacy as a prestige variety). The former seems to be an indispensable condition for, and a consequence of, the functional extension of language in some societies. It is influenced by the latter in a rather complex way, difficult to determine. The formal character of language varieties is exclusively conditioned by social constraints and subject to all kinds of prejudices, but the language planner is obliged to take account of it. Conceiving language codification as a restoration of the language of literature is a result of concern for prestige, although it has desirable practical consequences in a standardization process: it enhances language loyalty, strengthens language autonomy by intensifying internal cultural references, and offers a solution to the problem of dialectal diversity.

An analysis of these codifications provides the possibility of studying conscious processes of development of languages which reproduce the general features of the old European literary languages. Such an analysis makes clear the qualities of standard languages, their practical shortcomings, the constraints that impose these shortcomings and the advantages of accepting these constraints.

The starting-point for my analysis of alphabetical writing systems is Lafont's list of the constraints on the formation of orthographies (Lafont, 1971, pp. 17-23, 31-38). These constraints are as follows:

1. and 2. **Choice and inconsistency constraints**

The establishment of a spelling system from a pre-existent alphabet (e.g. from the Latin alphabet) forces different uses of the same grapheme in different languages (i.e. the development of different systems of conventions) and, sometimes, even within the same language. Then some inconsistencies will arise which will only be solved by *ad hoc* solutions in some cases. So, the use of *ll* in Catalan for the palatal lateral, as in *palla* (straw) forces the writing of a risen point to avoid ambiguity in words like *cel·la* (cell), which are supposed to be pronounced with a double *l* (but not always are). The general value of *qu* in French [k] is at odds with the pronunciation as [k^{w}] in some learned words like *équateur*.

3. **Evolution constraint**

Writing systems retain some spellings reflecting earlier stages of evolution, so that reading rules can be related to diachronic changes. In reading the French word *bonne* (good, feminine) the first *n*, representing the nasality of the preceding *o*, is ignored and the final *e* is generally not interpreted as a vowel but just as a mark that shows how to pronounce the preceding consonant.

4. Morphological constraint

Morphemes tend always to be written in the same way, overlooking the alternations produced by phonological rules. This constraint is a consequence of the last one mentioned and the same example, *bonne,* can be taken; in it, like in *petite* (little, feminine), the vowel *e* is an unchanging feminine mark, although it is not sounded and only determines the way of pronouncing the preceding consonant. In English the plural mark *s* is always written the same but its pronunciation depends on the preceding consonant; so, it is voiced in *bags* and voiceless in *cats*.

5. Ideographic constraint

For various reasons, often etymological ones, words equal in sound but different in meaning are written in different ways, so that their spelling alone ensures the expression of their separate meanings. This kind of spelling is called *ideographic* because in these cases there is a direct relationship between the graphic representation of words and their meaning (Lafont, 1971, p. 20). These distinctions are particularly frequent in French (e.g. *poix, pois, poids* -pitch, pea, weight) and also in English (e.g. *roll* and *role).* Specific means, like accents or mute letters, are often used to differentiate words that would be identical otherwise: *mes* (month) and *més* (more), in Catalan; *anno* (year) and *hanno* (they have), in Italian.

6. Loanword constraint

Words borrowed from another language in general keep the original spelling, at least temporarily. The treatment of loanwords changes considerably from language to language and in some cases they are systematically adapted. Adaptation is more likely to occur when a process of transliteration between to different alphabets is involved, but this is not always the case: words with Russian origin are regularly written with a *k* in Catalan (*troika*) and, on the other hand, some anglicisms have been adapted (*sandvitx* < sandwich).

7. Word constraint

Sandhi phenomena are not usually noted in modern languages, while they are with religious exactitude in Sanskrit. A writing system based on phonemic spellings is usually developed working at word level and neglecting phenomena related to sound contact over word borders.

8. Plurality constraint

Some spellings allow different readings according to the different varieties of a language, as a result of the evolution constraint or also of the fact that a given alphabet is not precise enough in representing all the phonemes of a language. In Spanish the grapheme *ll,* which was initially intended to represent the palatal lateral, is sounded in many different ways, among which the one supposed to be the original is probably the least used. The Italian sequence *a casa* ([to] home) is read with a

short [k] and a voiced *s* according to northern norm and with a long [k] and a voiceless *s* according to Tuscan and southern norms.

Plurality constraint hinders orthographic changes that are not applicable to all varieties of a language, so that division into separate orthographic norms can be avoided. In codification work that constraint can be considered as an active principle according to which spellings can be established that have a different reading in every dialect (support spelling principle). This principle is a great help in language planning work because it allows a reduction of spoken language diversity in writing.[7]

It is a commonplace that a good orthography is bound to conform to the phonemic principle. As a result, and bearing in mind word constraint, there should be a systematic correspondence between phonemes and graphemes within words, using the definition of "phoneme" as made by European structural phonology. Generally speaking, deviations from that principle can be of two kinds:

(1) Homographies, that is, the use of one grapheme to represent more than one phoneme. The English sequence *ea* has at least three possible readings, like in *sweat, break* and *leap*. The vowels *e* and *o* can be read whether open or close in some Romance languages, since systematic indication of their quality is lacking: in Catalan we have *pes* (weight), with an open *e* and *mes* (month) with a close *e*. A writing system containing homographies generates reading difficulties.

(2) Homophonies, that is, the representation of one phoneme by more than one grapheme. In Spanish (excluding Sephardic dialects) and in many varieties of Occitan and Catalan there is no pronunciation difference between *b* and *v*, so *cabell* (hair) and *cavall* (horse) have in Catalan the same sequence of consonants. A graphic system containing homophonies generates writing difficulties, i.e. orthography mistakes.

The problem of contextual reading rules is a particular case related to homography: a satisfactory knowledge of a given writing system allows the use of phonological rules as reading rules when the outputs of the former are not reflected by spelling. For example the writing of single and double consonants in German guides the reading of the majority of long and short vowels; the application of vowel reduction in Catalan and Portuguese depends on a correct interpretation of the position of stress. Obviously the spelling does not always provide all the information needed for a correct application of rules; that happens in languages like Russian, which share vowel reduction but do not mark stressed vowels. However, when a spelling system gives sufficient information about the application of contextual reading rules, it cannot be said that homography is present, even if the phonemic principle does not actually work. Strictly speaking, in an alphabetical writing system there are no homographies when it produces texts that enclose all the phonological information required for a satisfactory reading. It is also possible that such a system presents no homophony. This only happens when there are no reading rules which imply the neutralization of a phonological opposition. In Catalan final obstruent consonants become voiceless by a phonological rule and the writing of voiced consonants in that position follows an etymological criterion; a very simple reading rule enables to read correctly a final d as a [t] in words like *fred* (cold), but the bare knowledge of the graphic conventions of Catalan cannot help to discover the correct spelling.

A reinterpretation of the constraints pointed out by Lafont will be useful to analyse the nature of the various deviations from the phonemic principle. Lafont himself presents these constraints from the point of view of the alterations of that principle.[8]

First of all there are the known graphic conventions, which condition the choice of the system of conventions for a given language (choice constraint). If we abandoned the accorded restriction of dealing only with alphabetical systems, obviously the choice of the very kind of writing system would be placed on this level. From a general point of view, the main difficulty is found in the application of insufficient alphabets, like the Latin one, to languages that present phonological systems of great complexity. Many contradictions (inconsistency constraint), however, could be easily solved if the psychological pressure, with various implications of an ideological nature, was less among the people concerned by graphic choices. The symbolic character pervading graphic conventions is responsible for the sometimes very heated arguments that arise in the majority of codification processes. Two examples from my personal experience will be illustrative.

In 1985 I was invited to decide upon an official Friulian orthography after I heard a working commission and the opinions of several people interested in the matter. The results were published in Lamuela (1987a). The excessive number of functions attributed to the grapheme *z* produces an important inconsistency in traditional Friulian orthography; after a consonant or in an initial position *z* can represent the voiceless palatal affricate (*scomenzâ* -to begin) and the voiced one (*sielzi* -to choose), and also the voiceless dental affricate (*convenzion* -convention) and the voiced one (*zigzetâ* - to zigzag). I tried to solve the problem by retrieving an old historical grapheme like *ç*, and devising new ones, like *ts*, which is immediately comprehensible, and *zj*, conceived on the model of the usual representations of palatal stops (*cjase, gjambe* - house, leg). Thus: *scomençâ, sielzji, conventsion, zigzetâ*. The *zj* solution was refused by the commission without discussion. I insisted on keeping the grapheme *ts* because I thought it was the only way to avoid the presence of too many homographies, but since then it has always been subject to criticism and rejection. The final issue presents a *z* with the two values found in the words *sielzi* and *zigzetâ*, with no distinction between the voiced dental affricate and the palatal one, which is incoherent even though this has few practical consequences. Complete coherence could have been gained if some graphic habits had been disregarded (Lamuela 1987a, pp. 11-12).

The other example comes from Occitan. French influence wiped out the traditional grapheme *o* for [u] and spread *ou: poma* (apple), written *poumo* in Mistral's writing system. The IEO orthography restored the traditional spelling, which caused reservations and arguments of all sorts. About fifty years later the "Comission entar estudi dera normatiua lingüística aranesa", in which I participated, adopted the IEO orthographic rules to write the Gascon variety of Val d'Aran (Comission... 1982). The graphic convention *o* for [u] was again a difficult point, even though the Aranese were used to pronounce with that sound the official names in the valley written with *o* (Arró, Begós, Benós) and other place-names, like Barcelona. The only problem was that this spelling was alien to the Spanish orthography that the Aranese had learnt at school: the relationship between *o* and [o] and *u* and [u] was for them so obvious as the one between *ou* and [u] and *u* and [y] for the French Occitans.

It is clear that in the latter case the discussion does not regard the internal coherence of the writing system, but the autonomy of every language in the use of its own

conventions. However, the adoption of the grapheme *o* for [u] in Occitan has another consequence; learned words show an appearance similar to that shown in other European languages: *morfologia, geologia,* instead of *murfulugia, geulugia* or *mourfoulougia, geoulougia* (Comission... 1982, p. 10). There is no doubt that such an outcome has a positive psychological effect on the users and on everyone coming in contact with the language, and has, as well, practical consequences, since it helps to recognize the written form of languages belonging to the same family as a known one. As a result of these reflections, we should mention another constraint operating in establishing and maintaining orthographies, that could be designated as known graphic appearance constraint. It is because of this constraint that, in the Friulian case described above, I preserved the grapheme z to represent the dental affricate: such a choice makes it possible to maintain an international graphic appearance in Greek elements like the word *zone* or the suffix *izâ* in *stabilizâ*.

Even if it is not always the case, generally the correspondences between forms and graphemes are established at word level (word constraint). But the feeble character of the very notion of "word" gives rise to the application of the morphological constraint: not only the spelling of words remains unvaried, but also the graphic form of some morphemes. Or, at least, these morphemes are written in a way that clearly shows their unity. So, the Catalan word *roig* (red), the feminine of which is *roja,* is not written with final *tx,* which usually represents the voiceless palatal affricate, but with *ig,* that recalls the common alternate use of *g* and *j* (the plural feminine is *roges*). In most languages that have vowel reduction its results are not represented in writing: in Catalan *saquera* (a derivative of *sac* -sack) and *sequera* (from *sec* -dry) are pronounced in the same way (the first vowel is a schwa in both words). Similarly, the word *gotera,* in which the unstressed *o* sounds [u], is written with *o* as a derivative of *gota* (drop). Another phenomenon known in several languages is the writing of an *r* that has become mute when final but can appear in other positions: a Catalan example is the word *dur* (hard), written with *r* like its feminine *dura.* While there is no such problem in languages with a relatively simple phonology, some extent of morphological spelling seems to be unavoidable when a complex phonology has to be dealt with. Such a solution makes a global reading easier, in which identifying the meaningful units is more important than decoding the correspondences between phonemes and graphemes. Besides, it suits the known graphic appearance constraint: we can apply also to Catalan what I said before about the writing of words like *morfologia* and *geologia,* because it ignores vowel reduction, which, as a reason, is different from the choice of a convention.

Disregard for the output of certain phonological rules in spelling brings about the graphic unification of dialects that do not share these rules (plurality constraint). So, in western varieties of Catalan, in which vowel reduction rules produce lesser effects than in the eastern ones, the spelling of the words *sequera* and *gotera* embodies the phonemic principle. Adopting Bec's use (1972) of Weinreich's old term (1954), I shall call diasystemic spellings the writing conventions that follow the support spelling principle, i.e. that allow different readings depending on which dialect is used. The application of this principle is very useful in codification work, but offers a few difficulties. The number of homophonies increases in writing dialects that have lost certain distinctions and, on the other hand, there are populations who are strongly opposed to this solution, depending on the tradition of use of the written language. Such a reaction can be found, for example, in Italy, where the tradition of standardization has always been associated with an outstanding duality between Italian

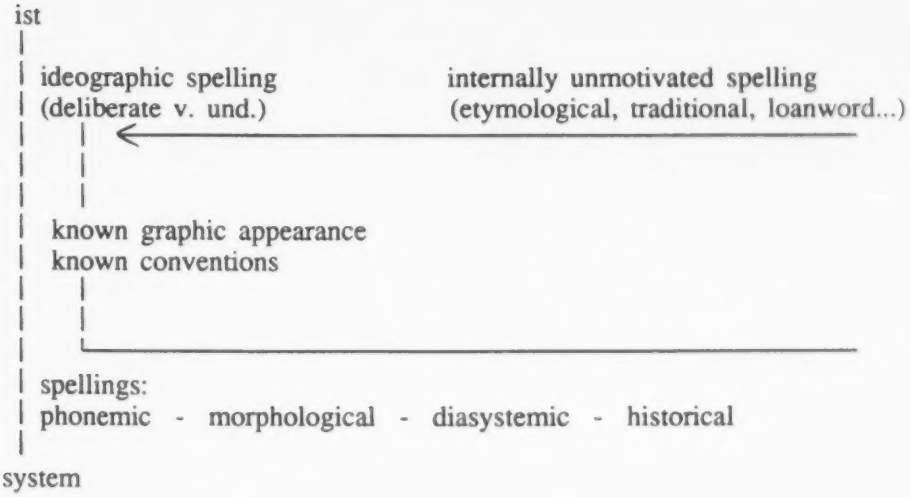
and the so-called dialects, with no reference to the close linguistic relationship between some of them and the official language.

As a consequence of evolution constraint, historical spellings often do coincide with morphological and diasystemic graphic conventions. This happens when orthography does not reflect the output of phonological rules that appeared as innovations only in a part of the dialects and when the language was already written. Going back to the examples of the spelling of the word *roig* and vowel reduction in Catalan, we notice that the first spelling is only morphological, while the second is morphological, diasystemic and historical at the same time. We have already seen that, omitting the graphic representation of vowel reduction, the spelling reflects the pronunciation of some varieties, and now it can be said that it conforms as well to the features of the old language. In contrast, the last sound in the word *roig* is voiceless in all modern dialects and the situation previous to this pronunciation was hardly contemporary to the first written attestations of the language. The spelling v̲, on the other hand, is diasystemic and historical, since it follows the distinction present in the majority of the ancient texts and in an important number of modern dialects, and can only be partially related to morphological alternations: in *blava* (blue), which has a masculine form with a final *u*, but not in *vi* (wine) or *cavall* (horse). Retrieving historical spellings, especially when they are diasystemic, can produce positive psychological effects among speakers and make possible the cultural use of texts produced in previous times.

It is important to distinguish between historical spellings, from archaic forms of the same language, and etymological ones, arising from languages felt as distinct. Even if Latin is really an old stage of Romance languages, it is generally considered to be a separate language and, thus, the spellings of those languages based upon it are etymological. Etymological spellings belong, in fact, to the domain of borrowing: they keep features of the original spelling in words that come from another language (loanword constraint). They are spellings that differ from those considered above because they have no foundation in language structure, but derive from certain social constraints. We can add to the spellings due to borrowing other types which have no internal motivation, like the falsely etymological ones (e.g. the *d* in the French word *poids*) or those generated from various phenomena. The *h* is written in Spanish following etymological criteria but lacking, for example, in the word *armonía*. Before the orthography reform of 1913 it was usual to write in Catalan an *h* after every final *c* (e.g. *blanch* for *blanc* -white) -that use probably originated in the need to distinguish the final *c*, with a velar stop value, from another one, best written as ç̲, that had a sibilant value.

All non-phonemic spellings can distinguish words of different meanings that would be written in the same way in a phonemic spelling. Making this sort of distinction can cause internally unmotivated spellings to be maintained and even explicit means of distinction to be used, as we have seen in the examples *mes* v. *més* in Catalan and *anno* v. *hanno* in Italian (ideographic constraint). It is well known that language, in both forms, spoken and written, has enough devices to solve ambiguities. As a consequence, it does not seem that a concern for graphic distinctions should be really useful outside the lists of contextless words provided by grammarians. So, making such distinctions does not seem of much value in the establishing of new orthographies.

All this can be summarized in a diagram in which, starting from the known conventions, the different sorts of spelling are presented in an order that shows their distance from the phonemic principle. At the end, we find the known graphic appearance, which can be strongly conditioned by spellings that happen to be arbitrary from the point of view of language structure and that enable alphabetical writing systems to work, to a certain extent, as ideographic systems. A tension appears between that sort of spelling and phonemic ones, which is the habitual tension etween learning a system and learning a list of units that can be individually marked rom the point of view of their behaviour towards the system.



I consider that this diagram enables the analysis of established orthographies classifying the character of the various graphic solutions and offering a pattern to historical and sociolinguistic research on the formation of a given orthography. It should be useful as well in the field of pedagogy. I find it particularly helpful in the context of language codification. On the one hand, it suggests that ideological pressures should not be disregarded, simply because they can have decisive psychological consequences in the implementation process. On the other hand, it should convey a reflection on the opportunity of collecting morphological, diasystemic or historical spellings. This will enable an easier reading; the identification of the language unity above dialectal differences, and the use of the written tradition, whenever it exists. That way of envisaging the problem, by keeping a distance from pure linguists' dependence on the phonemic principle demands, deals with language as a fundamental instrument of the cultural activity of a community, which is what it must be.

Notes

1. It is the only official language in Andorra.

2. Cf., particularly, Fabra (1913; 1918; 1932b).

3. "Dins aquesta Gramatica, nos propausam de desvolopar l'obra entemenada pels nostres predecessors. Per subrepés, avem lo desir de la far profechar dels trabalhs dels linguistas moderns e de l'exemple de la restauracion del catalàn literari per l'illustre Pompeu Fabra."

4. "L'obra de redreçament de la llengua escrita no podria ara limitar-se al sol llenguatge literari -amb exclusió dels llenguatges tècnics, etc.- i, per altra banda, ha de defugir tota artificiositat que dificultés la seva difusió."

5. "Sabem que nostres adversaris objectaràn qu'aquela lenga restaurada serà *artificiala, incomprehensibla* e *extrangiera* dins tots los païses lengadocians.
Oblidaràn qu'una lenga literària comporta necessàriament una part d'artifici e d'arcaïsme. Si volem una lenga coma lo francés, l'italiàn o l'espanhol devem pas rebufar las condicions d'existéncia de tot idioma literari [...]
Per fin, ajustarem qu'una lenga pot pas se limitar a un terrador e un sol temps. Deu èsser la sintesi dels parlars naturals de tota la nación e la sintesi de la lenga dels escrivans ancians e moderns."

6. Cf., for example, the Prague School: "La distinction de la langue littéraire se fait *grâce au rôle qu'elle joue*, grâce en particulier aux exigences supérieures qu'elle se voit imposer, en comparaison du langage populaire: la langue littéraire exprime la vie de culture et de civilisation (fonctionnement et résultats de la pensée scientifique, philosophique et religieuse, politique et sociale, juridique et administrative)." (Cercle Linguistique de Prague, p. 16)

7. The original Occitan terms are as follows: 1. constrencha de causida entre grafèmas, 2. c. intèrna de contradiccions, 3. c. d'evolucion, 4. c. paradigmatica morfologica, 5. c. ideografica, 6. c. dels manlèus, 7. c. del «mot», 8. c. de pluralitat (principi de la grafia supòrt).

8. "Sembla practic, per o far tot mai clar, de pausar primièr lo procediment fonologic, qu'es general en Euròpa, e de ne destriar las constrenchas que quichan sus el, e que d'unas son intèrnas (nascudas de las quitas dificultats graficas) e d'autras extèrnas." (p. 17)

Appendix

Appendix 1: Spelling conventions of Catalan

Conventions shared with other languages in the same geographical area

c	car [k], cel [s]
ç	braç, caçar [s]
g	gel [ʒ]
gu	guiar [g], pinguí [g^w]
h	home [ø]
j	roja [ʒ]
ll	llop, pell [ʎ]
qu	quatre, consequència [k^w], quiet [k]
r	roc [r], cara [ɾ]
rr	torre [r]
s	casa [z]
ss	passar [s]
v	vi [b], cavall [β]
x	fixa [ks], examen [gz]
(i)x	xoc, panxa, rauxa, mixa, caixa, gruix [ʃ]
z	zero, donzella, amazona [z]

the use of the acute accent for stressed close vowels and the grave for open vowels, according to some particular rules: àrab, pagès [ˈɛ], així [ˈɔ], excés [ˈe], amistós [ˈo], pinguí, búfal.

Conventions shared with Occitan

ig	puig, mig [tʃ] (in Occitan is simply g: puèg)
tg	viatge [ddʒ]
tj	correctja [ddʒ]
r	por [ø]
tz	dotze [ddz]

Conventions shared with Basque

tx	despatx [tʃ], despatxa [ttʃ] [tʃ]

Conventions specific to Catalan in its geographical area

l·l	col·legi [ll] [l]
tll	ametlla [ʎʎ]
ny	canya, pany [ɲ]

Morphological spellings

1	a	porta [ə], sac [ˈa] - saquera [ə]
2	e	home [ə], sec [ˈɛ] - sequera [ə]
3	o	gotera [u] - gota [ˈo]
4	ig	roig [tʃ] - roja [ʒ]
5	r	dur [ø] - dura [ɾ]
6	v	blava [β] - blau [w]

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in final clusters:

7	p	camp [m] - acampar [mp]
8	t	font [n] - fonteta [n̪t]
		alt [l] - alta [l̪t]
9	c	blanc [ŋ] - blanca [ŋk]
10	b	tomb [m] - tombar [mb]
11	d	profund [n] - profunda [n̪d]
		herald [l] - heràldic [l̪d]
12	g	fang [ŋ] - fangós [ŋg]
13	b	verb [rp] - verbal [rβ]
14	d	verd [rt] - verda [rð]
15	g	alberg [rk] - albergar [rɣ]

Diasystemic-historical spellings

1-3, 5, 7-12

16	l·l	cel·la (in some words)
17	v	vi [b], cantava [β]

Etymological spellings

18	b	àrab [p] (arabisme), rep (rebre)
19	d	fred [t] (freda), acabat (acabada)
20	g	centrífug [k] (centrífugar), amic (amiga)
21	c, ç	cel, caçar [s], sopa
22	h	home [ø]
23	je	majestat [ʒ], gel
24	l·l	sol·licitar [l], sola
25	x	examen [gz], fix [ks], rocs
26	z	amazona [z], casa

27 some clusters:
compte [n̪t] (conte), manta; amfibi [m], informe; ritme [dm], administrar; dissabte [pt], apte; dracma [gm], magma

Appendix 2: Occitan vowel system (Aranese examples)

casa, veirà ['a], castèth, casa [a]
vedèra, pè ['ɛ]
pelha, francès ['e], pesar, òme [e]
petit, vedí ['i], canti, liròt [i]
òme, aurió ['ɔ]
poma, amistós ['u], solet, zèro [u]
blu, dempús ['y], pujar [y]

Other varieties have unstressed [ɔ], written a (poma ['pumɔ]), and the grapheme à, used for some occurrences of ['ɔ] on a historical basis: volià [bu'ljɔ].

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE STANDARDIZATION OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

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Introduction

The standardization of the Basque language is a very recent phenomenon; in spite of that, or perhaps precisely for that reason, there is a vast amount of literature on this subject. In fact, in recent publications there is hardly any introduction to Basque literature, any foreword to a dictionary or first chapter of a pedagogical or descriptive grammar that does not comment on this topic. In addition, there are the publications by Euskaltzaindia, the Royal Academy of the Basque Language, and by the Basque Government, where the new norms are recorded in detail or summarized, to make them available to the general public. The interest of the Basques in their own language - let us recall the fact that they call themselves "euskaldunak", 'those who speak Basque' - together with the political changes in Spain in the decade of the seventies, have paved the way for numerous studies on specific (sub)topics, such as the history of the language, the dialectal fragmentation and various aspects of the normalization of the language in society. There are even some articles and a doctoral thesis that have as their central theme precisely the one set out in the following pages.

I shall begin by presenting some considerations as to why the Basque language had not been standardized before. A discussion on one of the most obvious causes and perhaps the most serious problem to be overcome, in the efforts of standardization, namely dialectal fragmentation, will follow. This will take us directly to some specific linguistic problems which have had to be solved, to the solutions proposed, and to a brief "state of the art" with respect to the standardization. As a conclusion, some observations on the acceptance of the "euskara batua", and some facts about the efforts and achievements regarding normalization up to this time shall be mentioned.

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The Basque language and its standardization

The Basque language is spoken on both sides of the western Pyrenees, in a fifty-kilometer wide coastal strip extending from Bilbao (Spain) to Bayonne (France).

It is an isolated language, with its origins still unclear. The different theories advanced until now, claiming a relationship to the Kartvelian languages of the Caucasus or Hamitic origins have been dismissed, as well as its possible affinities to the ancient Iberian language(s) (see Tovar, 1981; Etxenique, 1987). Basque has been in contact for centuries with Romance languages: French and Gascon in the north, Castilian and Aragonese in the south. Basque has about 700,000 speakers, 100,000 of them living in other European or American countries (Zuazo, 1988). Today, most of its speakers are bilingual.

MAP 1: THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND ITS DIALECTAL SUBDIVISION
adapted from Saltarelli (1988) and Aulestia (1990)

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As far as we know, the Basque territories have never formed a common independent state. The area in which the language is spoken has progressively diminished in the last centuries, having disappeared first from the regions north-east of Bayonne, then from almost the whole province of Alava in the XVIIIth century and large areas of Navarra in the XIXth century. From the middle of the XIXth century onwards it was not only at the political borders that the use of the language had decreased, but there was an important increase of the use of Spanish and French inside the Basque Country, especially in the towns and larger villages. The middle classes and the immigrants attracted by the industrialization did not speak Basque, which became more and more associated with rural life, resulting in a loss of functional value and prestige (Michelena, 1977).

From the time of the French Revolution onwards (the process began some years later in Spain), the Basque language has been the target of the official language policies of both states where it is spoken: the upcoming modern, industrialized nations had no interest in conserving "patois", regional dialects or languages; on the contrary, they looked to the quick linguistic unification of the nation: the common language was to become a symbol of national unity and a means of strengthening it; it also contributed to the mobility of the population as required by a capitalistic society (Perlick, 1990).

After his voyage through the Basque Country, at the beginning of the XIXth century, W.v.Humboldt predicted the disappearance of the Basque language within the next hundred years. Since that time, there has been a growing preoccupation with the continuity and survival of the language (see Altube, 1933; Zuazo, 1988). Especially from the beginning of this century, there has been an important movement to promote the "renaissance" of Basque. This movement has several aspects: above all, it is a struggle for the normalization of the language, and against the dominance of French and Spanish in the Basque society. Apart from the political aspect, pursued by the Basque Nationalist Party founded by S. Arana, there is a more specifically linguistic task: the creation of a *unified Basque language* to assure the mutual understanding of all Basque speakers. It is an absolutely necessary undertaking, as the normalization implies new functional demands for the language, and because the dialectal differences have always been great enough to render communication between Basques of different linguistic areas difficult.

If language standardization is such an urgent concern and the differences between the dialects are an important barrier to mutual comprehension, the question arises as to

Why the Basque language has not been standardized until recently

Spain and France, in which the Basque provinces had been integrated, obviously had no interest in promoting the use of the Basque language. Initially, the possibility of standardizing this "primitive" language was not even considered. Some time later, in the XIXth century, the national interests of both states prevented them from encouraging regional dialects or languages. Through the public school system they promoted the official language, to the exclusion of other languages which were, moreover, forbidden at school. Many Basque children who had been monolingual until they started school had to learn the official language, being instructed in French and Spanish respectively. This had the result of reducing the prestige of Basque.

In any case, the Basque society was predominantly rural: for many Basques, there was no real necessity for a written language. The upper classes living in the towns had access to higher education and therefore received (as Villasante (1963) remarks) a completely Castilian (or French) cultural instruction. They were diglossic and thus were used to writing and speaking with each other as well as with foreigners in the official language. The use of the Basque language was restricted to communication with servants (Knörr, 1989). There was no functional need for the standardization of Basque for them : Latin, Spanish and French were used for official affairs. On the contrary, their own bilingualism matched with the low functional value and prestige of the Basque language was seen as a socially stabilizing factor. Thus there was no need for a foreigner to learn Basque: as G. Borrow commented almost a century and a half ago, "there are few inducements to the study of this language. In the first place, the acquisition is by no means necessary even to those who reside in the countries where it is spoken; the Spanish being generally understood throughout the Basque provinces pertaining to Spain, and the French in those pertaining to France. In the second place, neither dialect is in possession of any peculiar literature capable of repaying the toil of the student" (Borrow, [1842], 1931).

As there were no books written in Basque, reading and writing seemed to be virtually impossible in the past. Villasante (1963) reports on a book of Basque prayers whose prologue was written in Spanish, because the author feared that otherwise it would not be acceptable to the readers. Illiteracy in Basque continued to be a widespread phenomenon even after the alphabetization in the official language.

The dialectal fragmentation (see below) was important, and it corresponded with a political and cultural fragmentation. The Spanish and the French areas of the Basque country were, in fact, totally isolated from each other. The literary movements in Labourd, in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries had been almost completely unknown south of the Pyrenees. A similar situation happened to the Biscayan and Guipuzcoan writers at the beginning XIXth century, whose works mostly remained unknown in the northern provinces (Villasante (1979) speaks of "provincialism" of the Basque culture). Inside Spain, the Basque provinces did not form a political unit either, with the effect that there was no common consciousness of being "Basques".

A further reason for the lack of a Unified Basque until recently is the failure of previous endeavors to standardize the language (see below). Apart from the difficulties in carrying out the normalization of the language, the circumstances surrounding the attempts of standardization were often highly politicized. For example, Basque Nationalism reacted to the "Spanish and French invasion" with a vehement purism (Altube, 1933), and tried to replace Basque words of Romance origin by "genuine" Basque neologisms - the effect being that the writings in "Euskera berri", *New Basque*, could not be understood even by educated Basques.

Dialectal fragmentation

One of the aspects of the Basque language that has puzzled both linguists and the Basque speakers themselves is the striking variety of forms found in the generally small area in which the language is spoken nowadays.

As I mentioned before, the Basque population has never been politically unified. An important factor that has not been emphasized enough (if it has been mentioned at all) in the literature is the fact that many of the differences that appear in the dialects are related, in varying degrees, to the other language spoken in this area. This is by no means astonishing, and therefore, in his recent doctoral thesis on the influence of Gascon and French on the Basque language, Haase (1991a) concludes that in the area of language contact between Basque, Gascon and French, there are almost no dialectal peculiarities that cannot be explained as directly induced or at least supported by language contact. Even if this factor is clearly an insufficient explanation for the dialectal diversity, it is an obvious fact that loanwords were usually taken from the other language at hand, and that orthographic habits in former times and phonetic peculiarities today are closely related to Spanish and French, respectively. Some dialectal features were therefore considered as "Spanish Basque" or as "French Basque", and the varieties were rejected due to the same psychosocial factors, and at times with the same arguments, as the respective Romance languages. This, of course, is not to say that political and dialectal boundaries were always coincident; it has been pointed out in the literature on several occasions (Euskaltzaindia, 1977) and can be seen in Map 1, that linguistic and political boundaries are not always exactly the same.

There has not even been a political unit of the (reduced) area of what is presently called "País Vasco": Biskaya and Guipuzkoa, e.g., have never constituted an administrative unit (Navarra has been an independent kingdom for centuries). There has always been a general sense of being different, of being independent "nations". The Roman Catholic Church contributed to the further segmentation of the Basque Country, by the division into three dioceses (Calahorra, Zaragoza, Bayonne).

The lack of Basque books and the illiteracy of the general population were other important, psychosociological factors, because the lack of a written norm increased the perception of the dialectal differences, so that the formation of one unified literary dialect seemed a goal set too high (Goenaga, 1990). It is not astonishing that in the course of time, four literary varieties have arisen: Biscayan, Guipuzcoan, Labourdin and Souletin have reached a certain normative power, but have never been generally accepted. The exception, perhaps, was Labourdin in the XVIIth century, in the French "Pays Basque": it had a relatively numerous, middle-class readership and reached a certain degree of standardization (Sarasola, 1989): 259 of the 588 books published in Basque until the XXth century made use of this standardized dialect. As for the rest, 195 were written in Guipuzcoan, 76 in Biscayan and 58 in Souletin (Zuazo, 1988).

Although it is one of the most studied aspects of the Basque language, until now no agreement has been reached on the exact number of dialects. In his seminal study, J.J. Bonaparte (1869; quoted from Salaburu, 1980) distinguishes eight:

Biscayan	Southern High Navarrese
Guipuzcoan	Souletin
Northern High Navarrese	Eastern Low Navarrese
Labourdin	Western Low Navarrese

These eight dialects are said to have 25 subvariants (c.f. Brettschneider, 1978). Bonaparte surrounded himself by collaborators from all the Basque-speaking regions - the

Itinerant Academy, as it was called - having arrived at this classification after extensive empirical studies and five trips round the whole country (Euskaltzaindia, 1984). Bonaparte's system has been the starting point for all subsequent studies, and it has not been modified substantially (Yrizar, 1981). Deviating proposals usually concern the number of dialects into which the subdialects are grouped: Aulestia (1990) takes into account five dialects, Saltarelli (1988) distinguishes six, etc.. Others reduce the varieties to two main groups, eastern and western dialects (Villasante, 1970); Biscayan would be the only representative of the latter.

Of course, the difficulties in establishing the exact number are a direct consequence of the quite common dialectological fact that the isoglosses are seldom coincident (Michelena, 1982; Villasante, 1979). In the case of Basque, only the border between Biscayan and Guipuzcoan seems to be perfectly clear.

From the time of the oldest Basque authors until the present day (cf. Zuazo, 1988), the existence of different Basque languages has been mentioned to the point of redundancy. There are translations from one dialect to the other (see Aulestia, 1990): Añibarro, for example, translated Axular's "Gero", a classic of Basque literature, from the Labourdin to the Biscayan dialect. The same author published a dictionary (Añibarro, 1963; originally, about 1820) that compares Biscayan, Guipuzcoan and Navarrese. Today we have a series of studies on different dialects, mainly restricted to the local speech of smaller towns (Orio, Maya, Oñate) or valleys (Baztá). Yrizar (1981) offers a comprehensive analysis of the Basque dialects and dialectology.

But are the differences as great as it has always been claimed? Quite obviously, the differences do exist, and they are present on all linguistic levels:

On the most obvious level, the lexicon, there is indeed much variation. Aulestia (1990) indicates that the variation consists mainly in the existence of alternative terms for the same concept, while the meaning of the words common to different dialects seems nearly constant. Quite often alternative forms can easily be reduced to phonetical differences: "nire/nere/ene/(neure)", my; "ikusi/ekusi/ukusi", to see, etc..

Differences in the accent are mainly phonetic and not phonological (exception: the "h" has a phonological value north of the Pyrenees, and is not pronounced in the south) and often reflect properties of the contact languages: in Soule and Labourd, /u/ is pronounced as [y], vowels may be nasalized; in Guipuzcoan, /j/ is realized as "Spanish" [X], there are phenomena like "Yeísmo", etc. (Allières, 1981; Txillardegi, 1981). As for intonation, eastern dialects have a stress system ("básoa", glass, is differentiated from "basóa", wood), whereas western dialects make use of a tonal system (deRijk, in press).

With regard to morphology, there are not many differences in the nominal declension (Villasante, 1972), but the variation in the verbal paradigms is immense (e.g. "det/dot/dut", I have it; "naiz/naz/niz", I am), and includes different rules for plural formation (Perlick, 1987; Seminario de Filología Vasca, 1955), differences in the use of the allocutive, etc. (for a full verbal paradigm, see below). DeRijk (in press) reports that "an 18th century grammarian counted no less than 30,952 forms of a single verb". Even *within* a dialect there may be several competing forms: Barreña (personal communication) reports the use of four alternative forms of the verb "euki" *to possess* to express *I possess it* "dekot/dakat/deukot/deukat" in the dialect from

Durango (Biscay).
Regarding syntax, Basque is "desperately homogeneous", regarded from a comparatistic perspective (Michelena, 1982). Villasante (1980) describes some word order phenomena: the use of "(h)arek gizonak", *this man*, and other preposed demonstratives in Biscayan; the inversion of the auxiliary without negation (deRijk, in press); the "familiar allocutive" (Haase, 1991a) in the eastern dialects, related to the disappearence of "hi", a pronoun used only for the immediate family and close friends, which was a catalyst for allocutive (deRijk. in press); the three resultative constructions found in different dialects (Haase, 1991b), the case alternations in infinitive constructions described in Goenaga (1990) and so on.

Such differences, however, are quite normal in most languages. Modern Spanish, for example, shows differences on all of the levels considered above, and including some close parallels to the above mentioned facts, such as the existence of different verbal paradigms, as a result of the presence of a different pronoun for the second person; apparent discrepancies in the use of clitic pronouns, and so on. These differences, however, are no obstacle to the use of a common written norm.

Obviously, the variation found in the Basque dialects has been magnified. Research has often focused precisely on the differences. Apart from political considerations, there were psychosocial and linguistic reasons: the absence of a common written form, which on the one hand would have increased the registers and the functionality of the language for all Basques, on the other hand would have been a bridge to a better understanding of the other dialects; the existence of several competing written norms based on one of the regional variants; the lack of a broad literary tradition; the wide-spread illiteracy with respect to the Basque language; the rivalry between (French) north and (Spanish) south, and between east and west provinces. In any case, the fragmentation and the reasons behind it are facts that have, until recently, hindered the creation of a supradialectal standardized norm.

The struggle towards a unified norm

Because there are some recent publications on this subject: Goenaga (1990); Knörr (1989); Salaburu (in press) and above all, the well-documented overview by Zuazo (1988), who presents an impressive array of material, the following historical sketch will be extremely brief.

The first calls for a common written norm date from the middle of the last century: the persecution of the non-official languages in the nation-states, the ideas of Romanticism and the profound changes in society brought on a reaction among the linguistic and cultural minorities in France and Spain, who often concentrated their efforts on the struggle for language normalization. The industrialization of the Basque country caused an important wave of immigration and the emergence of an urban proletariat to whom the Basque culture and language were unknown. The speakers of Basque became a minority in the bigger towns. The loss of the "Fueros", a special legislation for the Basque provinces (1876) and the generalized search for a cultural identity meant the beginnings of a nationalist movement, led by Sabino Arana Goiri, bringing with it an awareness of the importance of conserving and cultivating the language, now regarded as a symbol for the unity of the Basque country. The period of Nationalism manifested itself in literature (Juaristi, 1987) and music (Arana Martija,

1985), in the so called "ethnographic painting", but above all, in the attempts at resuscitation of the Basque language, as a result of a change in cultural and political outlook.

The congresses of Hendaia (1901) and Fuenterrabía (1902), the first serious attempts to standardize the orthography, had a quite negative outcome: the high politicization of the discussions caused the congress members to split up. The peninsular Basques created the Euskal Esnalea and the continental Eskualzaleen Biltzarra (cf. Euskaltzaindia, 1984).

At the I. Congress of Basque Studies in Oñate (1918), a discourse by Eleizalde (1918), who called for a unified norm for the written language and made several proposals in this direction, led to the foundation of Euskaltzaindia, the Basque Language Academy. Its most important goal was the creation of a unified written language, which had become an urgent need due to the sweeping changes in society, and more specifically, the use and transmission of the language: up to the XXth century, most Basques were illiterate, and the language was passed down through the family, in a fairly stable sociolinguistic community (see Tovar, 1980) that had undergone fundamental changes. In order to conserve or even revive the language, it had to be adapted to new functions and to new situations.

Correspondingly, in the XXth century several proposals of a literary norm were put forword Azkue's "gipuzkera osotua" (=completed, expanded Guipuzkoan), Lafitte's "navarro-labourdin litteraire", Krutwigs proposal for a restored version of Labourdin... As all these were primarily based on one dialect, and the political circumstances were adverse, none of them was generally accepted: without the political and material means of normalizing the language, the old local rivalries prevailed, and no great advances were made.

Perhaps it was the prohibition of the public use of the Basque language in the post-Civil War Spain, together with the exile of numerous important exponents of the Basque culture which gave impetus to the efforts of standardization of the language, as it represented a decisive ideological break: while up to the thirties Basque nationalists had mostly been concerned, in a postromantic tradition, with the search for the roots of their own culture, the "soul of the Basque people" (and thus had displayed some politically conservative, even reactionary traits) (Juaristi, 1987), their efforts now became more concrete and future-oriented: the common language was now seen as a practical necessity, as a means of creating a common identity on the way towards political unity (see Kortazar, 1990).

The meetings in Bayonne (1964) and Aranzazu (1968), organized by Euskaltzaindia, meant the decisive breakthrough regarding standardization: The general guidelines for the proceeding were set, and several concrete proposals on the alphabet, orthographic conventions and morphology, including a small (2000 words) dictionary, were accepted: the birth of "Euskara batua", or Unified Basque.

The means of proceeding had to be extremely prudent, in order to achieve the greatest possible acceptance. The main goals were to prevent the dialects from growing apart further from each other, and to make them tend towards unity. Thus, the Academy initially claimed that its proposal was just a recommendation for a written form, for a "common literary language" (Villasante, 1970). This strategy seemed appropriate

in view of the psychopolitical problems mentioned above, and it parallels the actions taken in several South American countries, which accept the dialectal varieties in oral use and concentrate on the standardization of the written form of the languages (Gleich, 1989). In some cases, it was possible to make use of the norms established in previous attempts at standardization, or used in literature; in most cases, however, independent decisions had to be made.

As a rule, in the presence of competing forms, the morphological and lexical forms from the "central" dialects were selected: Batua has been called a basically Guipuzcoan-Navarrese-Labourdin dialect, with some slightly archaic characteristics: when the forms used in the extreme dialects were coincident, they were taken to belong to "Common Basque" and prefered to the central forms (Salaburu, in press). The preference given to the central dialects corresponded to quite diverse criteria. There are historical and cultural reasons (as the preponderance of Guipuzcoan in modern literature) as well as pragmatic criteria (Guipuzcoa is the province with the highest density and the highest total number of speakers of Basque (Gobierno Vasco, 1983). Political reasons were decisive, too: the "renaissance" of the Basque language as a social and political phenomenon took place mainly in "Hegoalde" (lit. "south side", the Basque provinces belonging to the Spanish State), with the establishment of "ikastolas" (Basque schools) and the struggle for autonomy.

Of course, there were additional, more specifically linguistic criteria, as "general comprehensibility" of the selected forms, the resemblance to a "vasco común", a Common Basque supposed to be the origin of modern dialects (Mitxelena, 1982), the regularity of inflexional paradigms, etc. Besides, it had been observed that the "koiné" used by the Basque emigrants in America was based mainly on the Guipuzcoan dialect.

As for the *alphabet* proposed, it was a compromise between solutions in the literary tradition, writing habits in the northern and southern provinces, influenced by the French and Spanish alphabetization, respectively, and the wish for regularity and idiosyncratic innovation. Some graphs were given up (e.g. some consonants written with tilde), some were reintroduced ('dd', 'tt', for palatalized consonants). The diagraph 'tx', probably borrowed from Catalan by S.Arana, was substituted for 'tch' and 'ch' (Knörr, 1989; Aulestia, 1990).

The *orthographic rules* based on this alphabet were established in search of an (obviously unattainable) one to one correspondence of sound and spelling. The force of the literary tradition was not strong enough to impose norms based on etymology, as in Spanish or French (Altube, 1929). On the whole, the difficulties were not too great (although Euskaltzaindia has gradually introduced some slight modifications); many of the debates - the standardization was a matter of public concern - centered on the inclusion or exclusion of the "h": while it has phonemic character in the northern dialects, it is not pronounced (and consequently was not written before the standardization) in the peninsular Basque Country. The solution proposed by the Academy - the "h" is written when it is a phoneme, and otherwise dropped - has been widely accepted by now, as other norms put forward, regarding vowel contractions, punctuation marks, etc..

The standardization of *declension* did not pose greater problems either, because the (pro)nominal paradigms are rather regular and similar throughout the dialects

(Villasante 1972). The differences refer, in essence, to some vowel contractions and some intervocalic "r"s and other infixes not pronounced in certain dialects. Therefore, the differences between the single dialects and Batua were small, and the solutions proposed by the Academy, relatively uncontroversial (cf. Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1982).

In contrast to nominal morphology, the variation in the *verbal paradigms* was immense. The forms selected as standard were mainly derived from the central dialects (although they are not always as close to Guipuzcoan or Navarrese as the example shown in Table 1 (Euskaltzaindia, 1979b)):

	Biskayan	Guipuzcoan	Labourdin	Batua
1s	d-au-tsa-t	d-i-o-t	d-erau-ko-t	d-i-o-t
2sf	d-au-tsa-k/n	d-i-o-k/n	d-erau-ko-k/n	d-i-o-k/n
3s	d-au-tsa	d-i-o	d-erau-ko	d-i-o
1p	d-au-tsa-gu	d-i-o-gu	d-erau-ko-gu	d-i-o-gu
2s	d-au-tsa-zu	d-i-o-zu	d-erau-ko-zu	d-i-o-zu
2p	d-au-tsa-zue	d-i-o-zue	d-erau-ko-zue	d-i-o-zue
3p	d-au-tsa-e	d-i-o-te	d-erau-ko-te	d-i-o-te

Table 1. *Some dialectal variations of the Basque auxiliary "ukan" (adapted from Perlick (1987).*

The auxiliary "ukan" agrees with the subject and both direct and indirect object; the table shows the paradigm resulting from changing the subject. The form "diogu" e.g. would translate as "we have ... it to him". "1p" stands for first person singular, "2sf" for second person singular, familiar; this form, which nowadays in several dialects has a very restricted use, agrees with the gender of the interlocutor.

Because of the extensive divergences of some dialectal paradigms from the norm, in Biscay, Soule, etc. the dialectal forms are still widely used in conversation. In view of these differences, the Biscayan verbal morphology is even taught at schools (Zubiri, 1989).

As for the *lexicon*, the following guidelines are recommended: a) the acceptance of all forms that are naturally used, when there are different terms for one concept; b) if one is a (new) loanword, the use of the other (Basque) one is recommended; c) if one of the competing variants seems to be in accordance with the traditional phonetic system of the language, it is favoured (e.g. "bake", *peace*, is preferred to "pake"; "dorre", *tower*, to "torre"); when there are several only slightly differing forms of a word in different dialects, one is given preference, according to the criteria presented above, as may be morphological regularity, general interdialectal comprehensibility, number of speakers familiar with this form, etc.. Thus, "andre", *woman*, and "eliza", *church*, are chosen, not "andra", "andere", "eleiza" or "elexa".

In the field of *lexicography*, Euskaltzaindia has concentrated upon the ambitious project of the "Diccionario General Vasco" (see Salaburu, in press), and on the indication of norms for the word formation and morphological adaptation of borrowed words (Euskaltzaindia, 1986). There is no official normative dictionary yet (with the exception of the 2000-word-list written in Aránzazu). Kintana et al. (1984) conform for the most part to the guidelines given above, but it is characteristic of this dictionary (and of the discussions about the unification in general) that the authors make use of the definitions given to inveigh against the purism of Arana and his

followers, or even to resist recommendations by the Academy (compare, for example, the definitions of "akeita", *coffee*, and "Abuztu", *August*).

In *syntax* the essentials are common, in most cases (see above); the grammars written by the Academy up to this point (beginning with Euskaltzaindia (1985), there have been published three volumes and two separate appendices) explicitly claim to be "lehen urratsak": *first steps* toward a yet to be proposed norm; they remain primarily descriptive. In most cases, where there are alternative constructions, there seems to be no necessity at all to exclude any one of them.

Although much has been accomplished and the process of standardization is sometimes considered to be completed (see Etxebarria, 1988), there remain, of course, numerous things yet to be done: there is much work in progress on lexical modernization, (Knörr, 1989), and many details concerning the linguistic levels reviewed above had to be left open until now. The newest norms and proposals of Euskaltzaindia are regularly published in its bulletin, "Euskara". B.Atxaga, the Basque author who was the first writer to win the Spanish National Award for Literature in 1989, with a novel not originally written in Spanish, laments the lack of literary tradition and of habit of reading in Basque: the grammatical norms are at the disposal of both author and reader, but versatility and the adaptation to specific styles and registers have not yet been accomplished (Atxaga,1989).

On the tentative acceptance of the "Euskara batua"

Euskaltzaindia is recognized by the Basque Government as the official consultative institution for the standardization of the language. This means that the dialect used for official publications, in textbooks and in "Euskal Telebista", the Basque television channel, is precisely "Euskera batua", the norm proposed by the Academy. Ninety per cent of the new Basque books are written in the standardized variety; newspapers, scientific or non-specialist texts, school materials and children's literature make use of the unified form almost exclusively. Grammars, conversational guides and language courses make use of "Batua", it is used for the teaching of literacy to adults, in the Roman Catholic Church (there are Bible translations into this variety) and on the radio (Siguán, 1988). Even writers from dialectal zones which differ more greatly from the norm are using it increasingly, with the double aim of contributing to the fixation and implantation of the standard, as well as out of convenience, since the use of this variety has indeed become the key to reaching a larger public.

The experience that the traditional dialects are able to exist alongside the standardized form has silenced much of the polemics that had always accompanied the efforts and proposals of standardization. Due to the increasing presence of Euskara batua in society, even speakers of dialects which vary greatly from the norm are becoming familiar with it. Haase (1991a) reports on the initial influence of Batua on the speakers of Souletin through the broadcasts of "Euskal Telebista" - an influence of the southern dialects on the northern ones which has no parallel in history.

Of course, there are still some problems to be solved. Many of them arise because of the faulty application of the Batua norms by the increasing number of "euskaldunberris", persons who learned Basque as a second language and now make public use of it in the media, in public administration (Etxebarria, 1988) etc.. Other

difficulties have a psychosocial origin: there are older, illiterate Basques who consider their own language to be "inferior" and "less correct" than the Batua their grandchildren learn at school. And, conversely, there are school teachers who have attained a satisfactory proficiency in Batua as a second language, but are incapable of understanding their pupils (in certain dialectal areas).

On normalization

The term *normalization* is widely used in the Catalan and Basque sociolinguistic literature; in contrast to *standardization*, this refers to language planning in the sense discussed above, and it may be defined informally as the restitution of a situation in which a nowadays minority language is given back its former status and "normal" use in society (Gleich, 1989). The normalization of the language is a necessary step towards a solution to the political crisis in Euskadi (Tovar, 1980) and the only possibility of survival for the Basque language in a modern society (Michelena, 1982; 1987). The Spanish Constitution (1977) grants some autonomous rights to the regions, such as their own governments responsible for economic planning, health, mass media and education. As for the legal situation, the Constitution forces all Spaniards to speak Spanish, the use of other languages in specific regions being merely a "right" (the French Constitution does not even mention the existence of other languages in France! - cf. Larrañaga, 1990). Out of political convenience, the Basque Government has made every effort to normalize the language (although most members of government and parliament did not know Basque themselves). The Basque language is increasingly present in the administration, in public buildings and in the streets, but over all, it has been introduced in all levels of education, from pre-school to university (Quintana and Zalbide, 1983).

The Basque language was first used at school in the "ikastolas", private Basque schools founded from 1960 on, mainly in the southern provinces (see Garagorri and Eguilior (1983), and Haritschelar (1988) for details concerning the northern provinces). Nowadays, Basque is present in most public and many private schools, too (Gobierno Vasco, 1989; 1990a; 1990b). Several school models have been tried out, and the experiences carefully evaluated (Etxeberria, 1987; Sierra and Olaziregi, 1990). Great efforts have been made to prepare Basque school materials and to train bilingual teachers (but see Salaburu, in press!): all children growing up in the Basque Country will at least be familiar with Basque as a second language when they finish school, and a majority will have used it to learn other subjects.

With regard to the future of the Basque language, it is not clear if the progress made in the last decades will be sufficient: the standardization is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for survival (Euskaltzaindia, 1979). The situation is ambivalent, positive and negative arguments seem to be equally strong. As for the former, the creation and acceptance of a unified norm is a fact; the existence of an autonomous Basque Government with the interest and the means to protect the language is an historical novelty. The access of Basque to (higher) education, the alphabetization of a whole generation in Basque, and in many cases by means of Basque, have consequences for the possible functions of the language in the society. The effects of its use in television, on radio and in the print media may be similar. Another interesting fact may be the incipient presence of the language in towns, from where it had almost disappeared before. It is not clear if the high (theoretical) prestige of

the language will be a constant factor, as it seems to be linked closely to political interests that may change. The low prestige of the old nation-states in Europe combined with the upswing of the regions may be another positive factor (Gabiña, 1989).

To conclude, it must be remembered that the picture is not as rosy as it may appear. The possibilities of overcoming the political division of the Basque Country are minimal. The language has no territory as an exclusive domain: there are almost no monolingual speakers that rely on the language because it is their only means of communication, and that are free of the influence of a second mother tongue. In many areas, Basque still has a low prestige and therefore some functional restrictions (as being spoken to older people and children exclusively; see Larrañaga (1990)). Other critical facts may be the increasing amount of "euskaldunberris", L2-speakers of Basque, and an important demographic problem: the population is increasingly aging. The Basque Country has one of the lowest birth rates in Europe, and this will cause, in all probability, an increased influx of immigrants who quite obviously do not know the Basque language (Gabiña, 1989). But it seems not unrealistic to believe that all these problems may find a solution in time.

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THE STATE OF CODIFICATION OF ARANESE

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Introduction

Aranese is one of the minority languages spoken in countries which are members of the European (Economic) Community. It is spoken in a small valley in the Pyrenees in the *Principat de Catalunya*, and this Val d'Aran (Catalan: *Vall d'Aran*, Castilian: *Valle de Arán*) belongs to the Province of Lleida. It is the only Catalan valley in the Pyrenees which flows into the Atlantic Ocean, i.e. the only one north of the mountain's ridge which is part of Spain.

Aranese is a variety of Occitan, a very interesting dialect of the Gascon sub-variety. Everyone knows and a great number of sociolinguists regret that in Southern France Occitan is a dying if not already dead language. It is no longer vital, neither in Provence, Auvergne, Limousin, Gascogne, or in Languedoc, but - surprisingly (?) - up to this day it is the everyday medium of communication of the inhabitants of a small valley in the Spanish part of the Pyrenees - *Aranese*.

Aranese is one of the so-called *"Lesser used languages within the European Community"*. Most of us know that Irish, Catalan, Romansh (Ladin) or Galician also have this status, but hardly anyone in the European countries - which are, after all, the ones who give life to this unity - knows anything of the existence of a nation, nationality or "tribe" which goes by the name of 'Aranese'.

Aranese belongs to the so-called *Wieso-Sprachen*. I am using the terminology of Heinz Kloss here who describes these "why-languages" as follows:

> "How can anybody define these idioms (or dialects) as *languages*? But on the other hand, how can anybody deny that they *are* languages?" (Kloss 1985:211)

Kloss quotes twenty examples relevant to Romance philologists. Following I shall cite them in what I hope are the correct English equivalents. The German terms are in square brackets.[1]

> Arumanian [Aromunisch], Asturian (Bable) [Asturisch], Dolomite Ladin [Dolomitenladinisch], Francoprovençal [Frankoprovenzalisch], Friulian [Friaulisch], Galician (Gallego) [Galizisch - nowadays often called Galegisch][2], Gascon [Gaskognisch], Istro-Rumanian [Istro-Rumänisch], Moldarian [Moldauisch], Monegasque [Monegassisch], Occitan [Okzitanisch], Piemontese [Piemontesisch], Rhaetoromansch [Rätoromanisch - Romansh of the canton of Grisons)[3], Sardinian [Sardisch], Ladino [Spagnolisch], Valencian [Valenzianisch], Walloon [Wallonisch]. (Kloss 1985:211.)

You see, the Pyrenees' minority languages, Aranese and Aragonese, do not even form part of Kloss' scheme. Thus, we can conclude that there are still several dialects,

idioms, languages, or whatever you like to call them, which have a claim to be recognized as official languages.

For the past decade I have been working on some of the Romance linguistic minorities: The Romansh and/or Ladins in Switzerland and in the Dolomites (South Tyrol, Province of Bolzano in Italy) and the Aranese and the Aragonese in the Pyrenees. The geographical situation of them all is similar: Romansh, Ladins, Aranese and Aragonese live in high mountainous regions. Separated for centuries from the rest of the population, only tourism brought *roofing-languages* to them, i.e. German, Italian, Spanish and Catalan and these became a real threat for the survival of the small minority languages: They had no (equivalent) cultural tradition, no school system in their mother tongue and, finally, no propagation of their language by mass media which could have supported them against the powerful languages of the economic and political "colonialists". Subsequently, I will give you some examples of the "battle" of a European minority language - the Aranese - and, I will try to elucidate how efforts towards a codification of an idiom can avoid the death of a language or at least prolongate the agony of it.

1. Geographical and demographic data

Nearly everybody who goes to the Iberian peninsula leaves France from Hendaye/Endaia (as it is called in Basque) or at Cerbère/la Jonquera. This is, undoubtedly, the shortest route, but it is by no means the most interesting one. Leaving the *Autoroute des deux Mers* at Toulouse and taking the southbound exit, one reaches via Saint-Gaudens the beautiful Aran valley. Politically belonging to Catalonia and Spain, it is linguistically part of the *Terra de Occitània*.

Perhaps the river of this valley is more famous than the valley itself: it is the Garonne (Garona) which has its source there and leaves the Val d'Aran at the Pont del Rei *(Pont du Roi, Puente del Rey)* and flows via Toulouse, Montauban, Agen, Marmande and Bordeaux into the Atlantic Ocean.

The border between France and Spain lies at the above mentioned Pont del Rei. It is the only natural land route to enter the valley, at an altitude of 562 metres above sea level. The Val d'Aran ends at the Pla de Beret which lies at 1,869 metres above sea level. The mountains surrounding the valley rise to a height of more than 3,000 metres (e.g., the Pic d'Aneto, 3,404 metres, the Besiberri Nord, 3,014 metres, the Tuc de Ratera, 2,858 metres and the Mauberme, 2,880 metres). Until this century, Val d'Aran did not have any road connections with the rest of Spain. Only with the construction of a tunnel between Vielha and the northern part of Lleida province in 1948 did the Val d'Aran become a "real" part of Spain.

This is also an explanation for the fact that the valley still conserves quite an archaic idiom. Loyalty to the language in Val d'Aran is unique in the Occitan area. You will only find old people still speaking Occitan in the Limousin, Auvergne, Gascogne, Provence or Languedoc, but surprisingly everybody still living in "our" valley uses Aranese as a natural and obvious "home language".

The Val d'Aran was already populated in pre-roman times. Place names such as Bossòst, Arròs, Tredòs manifest an Aquitanian settlement, Salardú is a toponomastic

proof of Celtic colonization. Later Val d'Aran inherited names such as Viella and Les Bordes from Latin influence. Also Germanic tribes, the Visigoths [Westgotes] and the Franconians, left their mark in Aranese place names: Bausén and Betren give evidence of their "passage" through Val d'Aran.

The Val d'Aran consists of 33 villages, which are organized into nine political unities *(municipis)*. The Val d'Aran is divided into three zones: the Naut Aran *(Alt Aran, Alto Arán)*, the Mijaran *(Mig Aran, Medio Arán)* and the Baish Aran *(Baix Aran, Bajo Arán)*.

Vielha is the only community with more than one thousand inhabitants (it has 2,007), Bossòst has 731 and Lés 559 inhabitants. Altogether, 5,923 people live in the valley. Only 60% of the population is autochthonous: the rest are immigrants from other Spanish regions, especially from Catalonia, Andalusia, Aragón, Castilia and Galicia. Most of them have at least passive knowledge of the Aranese dialect/language.

The Aranese valley is a typical example for a multilingual region: Besides their mother tongue, autochthonous Aranese perfectly master Castilian and Catalan. Most of them even speak French because of toursim and contact with France, which is older than the contact with the rest of Spain.

Given the fact that even the non-autochthonous population tries to speak and understand Aranese, we have to ask ourselves why the minority idiom of the valley is endangered in its continued existence. It is endangered for two reasons: One is socio-economic, one is biological.

Because there is a lack of attractive jobs many Aranese people still leave the valley. On the other hand, many peasants stayed unmarried and the families that came from other regions to the Val d'Aran often have a lot of children and even if they understand Aranese you certainly cannot characterize them as loyal to a dialect which is not their own. Until the eighties Aranese was not or nearly not used in formal communication situations, such as sermons, school lessons, public speeches, conversation with strangers and mass media.

This only changed in the past few years. The Aranese became aware that their cultural and linguistic heritage should be preserved - and what is still more important - the *Generalitat de Catalunya* established the legislative conditions to improve the position of Aranese in public communication and created a concern for the language supported by the regional Catalan government[4].

2. The codification of Aranese

The *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* passed by parliament on the 6th of April 1983 settles the details of the autonomy statutes 1979.

Article III says: "La parla aranese serà objecte d'ensenyament i d'especial respecte i protecció".

Article XXVIII of the *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* is more precise. It says: "L'aranèse és la llengua pròpia de la Vall d'Aran. Els aranesos tenen el dret

de conéixerlo i d'expressar-s'hi en els actes i les relacions públics dins aquest territori".

Aranese is not recognized as an official language but the status of a *llengua pròpria* is more than a *parla aranese*. Article XXVII, 2 goes on: "La Generalitat, juntament amb les institucions araneses, prendrà les mesures necessàries per a garantir el coneixement i l'ús normal de l'aranès a la Vall d'Aran i impulsar-ne la normalització".

This is a guarantee for the codification of Aranese. Points 3 and 4 of Article 28 settle the toponyms and the introduction of Aranese in schools.

Up to the end of the 19th century Aranese was spoken in all linguistic domains, but it was never written. You can only find some Aranese interferences in Gascon or Catalan texts. Only at the beginning of the 20th century can we find some poems which had their origins in the famous *Jocs Flouraus or Jocs Florals*, competitions of poets which were very popular at that time.[5]

2.1 *The Aranese phonological system*

Aranese has seven vowel phonemes:

/i/ /e/ /ɛ/ /a/ /ɔ/ /u/ and /y/.

The only difficult point is the representation and differenciation of

open /ɛ/ and closed /e/.

The codification of the Aranese consonant systems, which contains 26 phonemes, poses a more complicated problem. Especially the graphic representation of the pre-palatal sibilants /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ and the respective affricatives /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ gave place to discussions as well as the graphemic realisation of /ɲ/ and /ʎ/.

2.2 *Aranese standardization efforts up to 1979*

Before 1979 everybody who wrote Aranese did it in the way he or she wanted. The orthographical systems followed either French, Catalan or Occitan or Castilian patterns. For example the magazine *Terra Aranesa* used a Catalan-based orthography from 1977 to 1979.

I only intend to summarize the competing orthographies: Some Aranese texts are written in the orthography of the *Escolo deras Pireneos*, others tend to a "mixed" orthography which was created by the sisters María del Carmen and Teresa Campá from Bossòst and which was used by a circle near to the *Biblioteca de Lés*.

2.3 *Results of the orthography commission created by the regional government*

In 1981 the Generalitat nominated fourteen members of a commission to solve the orthographical problems and to normalize the Aranese dialect. The commission was made up of representatives of the language policy department of the Generalitat (Aina Moll and I. Marí), three Catalan linguists (Badia i Margarit, Pujol, Lamuela), three

French linguists (Bec, Grosclaude, Taupiac), four teachers of the Val d'Aran (Riu, M.C. Campá, T. Campá, Vergés) and two Aranese who were known for their efforts in favor of Aranese (Aemá Mora, Busquets).

It was a difficult task to reach a compromise. Finally, on the 14th of January 1983 the Generalitat, ignoring any objections made on the part of the commissioners, decreed the new orthography.

Table 1. *Examples of the representation of Aranese phonemes (consonants):*

<lh>	for	[ʎ]	**Vielha, hilh** 'son'
<nh>	for	[ɲ]	**Unha, nhèu** 'snow'
<ch> \			**pòcha** 'pocket'
<th>	for	[tʃ]	**còth** 'neck'
<g> /			**esparg** '(he) scatters'
<sh>	for	[ʃ]	**shada** 'hoe'
<ish>			**caisha** 'chest'

Table 2. *Examples of the representation of Aranese phonemes (vowels):*

<u>	for	[y]	**blu** 'blue'
<ú>			**Salardú**
<ò>	for	[ɔ]	**aurió** 'yellow', **pòrta** 'door'
<o>	for	[u]	**content** 'content'
<ó>			**amistós** 'friendly'

The actual orthography of Aranese is at the same time historical and etymological. It is based on the norms of the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans* in order to give the Aranese, with their new codified and standardized language, the ability to read texts in other Occitan (at least Gascon) varieties.

It is to be hoped that the *Normes ortogràfiques der aranés* will soon be recognized as what they really are: A last attempt to keep alive one of the endangered minority languages in the Pyrenees, i.e. within the family of the Romance languages. When Aranese - the language of nearly 6,000 people - dies, a facet of our European identity which is based on plurilingualism and multiculturalism also dies.

Notes

1. I hope the designations will be understood.

2. Author's comment.

3. See footnote 2.

4. For further information see - among others - Winkelmann 1989a, 1989b, 1991, Wesch 1989, Climent 1986, Born 1991.

5. The *Jocs Florals* also had a considerable influence on literature in Castilian in the 15th century.

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STANDARDIZATION BEYOND THE STATE: THE CASES OF YIDDISH, KURDISH AND ROMANI

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1. Introduction

Until some centuries ago, literary standards in many communities throughout the world were predominantly the sum of codified religious texts. Their style and grammar were memorized and reproduced and finally copied and transferred into further literary activities. The language variety of prayer, law and chronicles thus became an important cultural asset in its own right. In our modern era, endeavors to set a standard norm for a national language code have often accompanied the emergence of national states. Determining what the norm is became a privelege of state institutions using the unified code as a medium for regulated mass communication. A standardized "national language" is still considered to be an important identity card of a sovereign national community. It reflects and transmits what people regard as their "national heritage" or "national culture". But what is the role of modern standardization other than to cater as a medium for state institutions, and how can a "national language" emerge without being able to rely upon the authority of government organs ?

We shall deal with this question, comparing three ethnic minority languages: Yiddish - a language of Medieval German origin spoken by Eastern-European Jews; Kurdish - a Northwest Iranian language spoken by some 20 million people in the region of Kurdistan, within the state boundaries of Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran and the Soviet Union; and Romani - a language of Northwest Indian origin spoken by an estimated number of 10-15 million Roma (Gypsies) in Europe and in the Americas. We shall look at the way standardization becomes a function of the speakers' own initiative after generations of intensive contact with several different administration and state languages used when dealing with the population and institutions of various host-countries or occupying forces, respectively.

We shall also consider some essential differences between several background factors: For example, Yiddish and Romani have never been centered in one geographic area, except at the very beginning of their existence. They are therefore typically "diaspora languages". Kurdish, on the other hand, is one of the most important languages of the Middle East, and despite various attempts on the part of the occupiers to assimilate and deport the indigenous population of Kurdistan, it is still the majority language of the region. Its dialects are dispersed along a language-geographical continuum, merging ultimately with related languages such as Luri and Farsi. It is due to political circumstances during the last century that standardizers of one of the main Kurdish varieties, Kurmanji, have been reluctant to achieve their goals within their country and that the center of literary activity has been shifted into exile communities in Western Europe.

As a further example for the diversity of the three standardization processes consider the degree of literacy in the cultures involved. Yiddish manifests the development of a standard literary variety in a highly literate culture, in which the bulk of institutionalized cultural activity consisted of studying and transmitting the scriptures. Kurdish and Romani each show a predominantly oral tradition of a population the greater part of which is still illiterate, i.e. not at all familiar with the techniques of a written codification of language. Thus, the majority lacks both literary documents of collective or cultural knowledge and written records of their own personal history.

2. What is a "standard" ?

Ferguson (1961) defines a standard as a single, widely accepted norm, used with only minor modifications or variation for all purposes of language use. He explicitly distinguishes between this general notion of "standard" and the degree of native literacy ("writing") in a speech community. The maximum degree of native literacy is manifested within a speech community when original scientific research is published regularly, while at the top of the standardization scale we find communities in which there is minimal variation of form in both the spoken and the written language. Following Ferguson's definition, standardization should thus be regarded as the process of language unification in a given community, affecting written as well as oral communication. Ray (1963) is not as strict with respect to the possibility of a co-existence of varieties or different vernaculars within the speech community, alongside the "standard". The standard itself, however, is considered to be a language variety the use of which is unified in writing, grammar and the lexicon.

The need for a normative language usage correlates according to Haugen (1966 [1972], 1969 [1972] and elsewhere) with the function of writing as the medium of communication between speakers separated in time and space and unable to rely upon prosodic, extra-linguistic or even plain linguistic explanatory strategies in order to smooth out misinterpretation. Language standardization and planning involves preparing normative rules for the guidance of writers and speakers especially in non-homogeneous speech communities. A "standard" is thus a set of widely accepted rules serving as a norm primarily in writing. Its emergence and distribution is dependent upon several phases, the first of which is defined as "norm selection" or the choice of the variety that is to become the standard. The second, "codification" (developing a writing system), presupposes norm selection. Once both these steps are fulfilled, the "stabilization" of the norm can begin. Most unification efforts may actually be inserted into this slot for it is during this phase that the production of dictionaries, grammars, style manuals and other normative instruments is most important. Finally, the future of the standard will depend on its "implementation", i.e. its acceptance by institutions, writers, publications and especially mass-media communication (Haugen 1969 [1972]; see also Cobarrubias 1983).

In the following we shall look at the emergence of written varieties of Yiddish, Kurdish and Romani and compare the motivations underlying literary initiatives in the native language, the choice of variety, codification, stabilization and the extent to which the written variety developed is implemented. Standardization will be regarded as the sum of these phases. Owing to the distinct circumstances of emergent ethnic minority languages with no government agencies behind them, we shall pay special attention to the role played by the initiators of each of the processes.

3. The standardization of Yiddish: Extending traditional literacy

Our following description is by necessity historical: Due to the Nazi genocide commited on European Jews during World War II there are now only few Yiddish speakers and hardly any Yiddish-speaking communities left in Europe. Worldwide, the largest Yiddish-speaking communities are found among first-generation Jewish immigrants in North as well as South America and in Israel. The Orthodox communities in Israel, the United States and elsewhere partly use Yiddish as the primary language of cross-generation family communication; they may be said to be the only communities to do so nowadays.

Yiddish had been the spoken language of Eastern-European Jewry for many centuries. During the Middle Ages, persecution of Jews led to a mass exodus from the German--speaking areas of the Lower Rhine into Slavic-speaking Eastern Europe. The refugees took their languages with them: Hebrew, their traditional sacral language, and Yiddish, which at the time was still the Jewish variety of Middle High German, containing a great number of words of Hebrew origin. Cut apart from the German speech community, Yiddish continued to develop independently. Until the beginning of the 20th century Eastern European Jews used both languages, Hebrew and Yiddish, in a stable diglossia. Each language had its established functions: Hebrew was the written language of religion and philosophy, of learned correspondence, documents and contracts. Yiddish was the spoken language of daily conversation.

But Yiddish had also quite soon developed into the written language of the uneducated, especially women. Uneducated in the sense of the Jewish educational hierarchy were those who were unable to read or write Hebrew. Since practice of the Jewish religion had always been connected to reading and discussing the scriptures, an educational system was created that taught every boy to read the "holy language". However, the language in which lessons were conducted was Yiddish, and girls were taught to read and write in Yiddish only. Thus even the so-called uneducated were able to read and write. Early documents of written Yiddish consist of private letters, translations of the Old Testament or collections of fairy-tales, to name but a few examples. Yiddish was written from the very beginning using those characters that served the medium for written communication within the Jewish community - the characters of the Hebrew alphabet. For this purpose the Hebrew alphabet underwent certain changes and was transformed from a basically consonant representation to a lineary phonemic system, as was the case with Judeo-Persian and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino).

The diglossic situation began to dissolve towards the end of the 18th century. Following the impoverishment of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe the number of the uneducated increased. More and more people could read and write only in Yiddish. The Yiddish language became the subject of ideological discussions. Chassidism, a religious movement based on Jewish mysticism, regarded Yiddish as an authentic expression of the simple people and therefore also as the appropriate language for religious practice. For the Jewish enlightenment, the Haskala, Yiddish was a spoiled jargon which was to be abolished. The Jewish labor movement, especially the "Bund", made the promotion of Yiddish language and culture part of its platform. Zionism regarded Yiddish as a stigma of the despised diaspora culture which had to be replaced by modern Hebrew. Language awareness arose, combined with religious and political opinions.

The expansion of the press during the 19th century played a most significant role in the development of the literary Yiddish language. Eastern Europe's first Yiddish periodical appeared in Warsaw in 1823. In 1877 the first Yiddish daily newspaper appeared in Bucharest and by 1912 as many as 100 Yiddish periodicals were being published across Europe, including 20 dailies (cf. *Jüdisches Lexicon*, "Jüdische Presse"). A Yiddish literature emerged and was oriented from its very beginning towards a popular medium, the press. The novels of the most famous Yiddish writers such as Mendele, Sholem Aleichem and Sholem Ash first appeared as serialized novels in newspapers.

Thus, a modern Yiddish written language already existed when the efforts to establish a unified standard began. From the very beginning, standardizers were confronted with the problem of dialect diversity. We distinguish the North-Eastern Yiddish dialect (NEY) centered around Vilna in Lithuania, the South-Eastern Yiddish dialect (SEY) spoken in Wolhynia, Podolia, Bessarabia and Romania and the Central-Eastern Yiddish dialect (CEY), concentrated in Poland (the western Yiddish dialects spoken in the German-speaking areas underwent a gradual assimilation process which led to the emergence of Jewish-German varieties, cf. Weinberg 1969). The three dialects differ in certain aspects of their phonology and lexicon, but also in morphology. Modern written Yiddish emerged in all three dialects, though each dialect acquired its specific institutional use: In the 20th century, SEY was the language of the theater, NEY dominated the press, and prose was written in a combination of SEY and CEY. These functions were connected to the geographic distribution of the centers of cultural activity and, of course, to the native dialects of the respective authors (cf. Schaechter 1977:38-39).

Which variety was to be given priority for standardization and unification? Judging by the majority, the use of SEY seemed to dominate. In 1925 teachers and scholars established the Jewish Scientific Institute YIVO (yidišer visenšaftlixer institut). Based in Vilna, its explicit program was to standardize and unify the use of the Yiddish language. Most YIVO members, e.g. Max Weinreich, spoke NEY and intended to establish the NEY-dialect, as spoken by the intellectuals of Vilna, as a norm (Schaechter 1977). YIVO made important contributions to the standardization process: It drafted a standard orthography and was successful in promoting the development or "Ausbau" (see Kloss 1967) of the Yiddish language in relation to German. German influences on Yiddish orthography - such as marking the etymological correspondence to a German long vowel by *h* following the vowel - were to be abolished. Yiddish orthography was to follow pronunciation, though Hebrew words within the Yiddish vocabulary maintained their Hebrew spelling, despite their different pronunciation in Yiddish. Diglossia was thus preserved within the system of orthography.

However, YIVO's standard orthography disregarded the existing modern Yiddish literary language, which was based predominantly on SEY and CEY. Despite its status among many scholars, the YIVO-standard did not succeed in drawing wide acceptance. Schaechter (1977:36) estimates that it is probably less than 1% of the native speakers - no statistics are available - who actually use the Standard Variety in everyday situation.

In the Soviet Union efforts were made during the 1920's to reform Yiddish orthography. These were the only efforts to standardize Yiddish carried out with the support of state agencies. The Soviet reform attempted to apply phonetic principles

throughout the spelling system. Thus, Hebrew words were no longer to be written following Hebrew orthographic rules, but according to their pronunciation in Yiddish. Traditional circles resisted this reform which ultimately failed owing to changed language policies in the USSR, sacrificing the promotion of minority languages in favor of assimilation into the Russian-speaking majority.

4. The Kurdish experience: The diversity of standards

As a result of migration, Kurdish is not only spoken in the region of Kurdistan, divided between Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran and the Soviet Union, but it is also the language of some half a million Kurdish immigrants in Western Europe. The process of standardization of the Kurdish language is still very young. In fact, the majority of Kurds in Iran, Syria and Turkey are illiterate in their native tongue. In these countries official policy has prevented the autonomous development of a literary variety by denying Kurds education in their own language as well as the right to distribute printed material in Kurdish. Linguistic and literary projects have thus been restricted to clandestine activities of opposition movements.

In the Soviet Union and in Iraq Kurdish did enjoy, at least for some years, the status of a minority language, and standardization has enjoyed official support. Considerable dialect differences between the varieties spoken in South and North Kurdistan and the cultural pressure exerted by the respective state administrations led to seperate standardization processes. We may thus distinguish three literary varieties of the Kurdish language:

a. The Suleimaniye variety. A well-established literary standard, this variety is based on the Sorani dialect of the southern parts of Kurdistan in Iraq and Iran, as spoken in the city of Suleimaniye. First literary activities in the dialect included poetry published in the 19th century, while the first periodicals appeared at the turn of the century. Standardization was encouraged by the British administration, most notably by the British governor and researcher E. Soane, and it was due to British pressure that Sorani was recognized as the second official language of the Kurds in Iraq in 1931. It is written in a modified form of the Arab-Persian alphabet, turning the consonantal script into a lineary phonemic system in much the same way as Yiddish modifies the Hebrew alphabet. Sorani was the language of Kurdish schools, an extensive literature, media and even universities in the Kurdish parts of Iraq, until Kurdish cultural autonomy was abolished by the government in the 1970's.

b. Standard Kurdish in the Soviet Union. Based on the northern Kurmanji dialect as spoken in the southern part of the Armenian Republic, around the city of Yerevan, written Kurdish in the Soviet Union uses the Cyrillic alphabet introduced in the 1940's. The Soviet-Kurdish alphabet was drafted by a circle of linguists working at the Leningrad Institute of Iranian Studies, based on intensive research of dialect-material. It is thus characterized by a fairly exact orthographical representation of phonological oppositions. However, its use is largely restricted to the linguists and intellectuals among the estimated 100.000 Kurds in the Soviet Union. Publications include prose, several school books as well as Kurdish dictionaries and grammars. A number of publications deals explicitly with orthography and standardization (Kurdoev 1957, E'vdal 1958, Bakaev 1983). One might go as far as concluding that there is a distorted proportion between the work done in the Soviet Union on describing

Kurdish varieties and adopting an orthographical standard, and the popular attention this work has received both in and outside the country. Kurdologists, of course, owe a great debt to this Soviet enterprise.

c. The Bedir Xan variety. Also known as the "Hawar" variety, this written standard was first introduced by Mir Celadet Bedir Xan in the Kurdish-language periodical "Hawar", published in Damascus and Beirut between 1932 and 1943. It is based on the Kurmanji dialect as spoken in the districts of Cizre and Hakkari, along the Turkish-Syrian and the Turkish-Iraqi border. The dialect itself has a long tradition as a written medium ranging back to the epics of the 11th century. Its emergence as a modern literary vehicle can be traced back to the appearence in 1898 of the periodical "Kurdistan", published by Kurdish exile intellectuals in Cairo and Istanbul, using Arabic characters.

Bedir Xan's modern alphabet uses the Latin script as adapted for Turkish by the Turkish language reform of 1928, with some additional characters. It was spread among Kurds in Turkey and Syria by a number of periodicals published in these countries and in exile, and was later adopted by clandestine Kurdish organizations challenging the official ban on Kurdish publications. Since the military coup d'état in Turkey in 1980 there has been a halt even of such clandestine literary activities. The further development of the Kurmanji written language has since been restricted to exile movements in Western Europe, mainly in Sweden, West-Germany, Belgium, France and The Netherlands. Several dozen periodicals based on the "Hawar" norm now appear regularly in these countries. Most of them are published by exile nationalist organizations and usually only reach their member population.

Due to the restricted possibilities of spreading literacy in the mother tongue among migrants in exile, lack of official support and of recognized as well as qualified language institutions, Kurdish journalists, writers and readers are confronted with a series of orthographic dilemmas not solved by the "Hawar" variety. Dialect diversity and the intensive influence of the languages of literacy in the respective countries of origin and in the countries of migration lead to irregularities, to an arbitrary spelling in many cases and to the lack of unified orthographic conventions among Kurds living and writing in Western Europe. Forms affected by irregularities of spelling include both phoneme representation and word boundaries (cf. Matras 1989). Confusion often arises as lexical innovations are introduced by single authors.

The lack of unity may be said to have been a handicap in the emergence of modern Kurdish literacy, since it severely restricts any exchange of experiences and literary material among the different literary varieties. Nevertheless, considering the circumstances of its emergence in the various countries, one must acknowledge the efforts made by language planners to adapt the respective literary variety to its socio-political and linguistic surroundings. Kurdish literacy inevitably correlates with bilingualism and biliteracy: Kurdish is never the primary literary language and Kurdish literacy is rather a luxury. There are therefore no monolingual Kurds who are literate in Kurdish, nor are there monolingual Kurds who are literate in any other language. Kurdish literacy is acquired through literacy in the official state language and literary varieties differ according to their states of origin, both historically (the choice of a dialect to be used as the standard variety and the choice of a writing system) and synchronically (the use of loan words).

Future perspectives are not likely to disentangle especially the "Hawar" variety, which never enjoyed any form of government support, from such factors. In the long term exile literary activities may give rise to a political and cultural elite, which, given the chance to establish a cultural autonomy in Kurdistan, will probably re-import the literary language and establish institutions needed to regulate spelling and lexical problems. In the shorter term Kurdish immigrant organizations aim at spreading literacy among the younger generation living in Europe. However, there are only few such projects, little cooperation on the part of the authorities in the migrant countries and little interest on the part of Kurds who are already caught between literacy loyalties to the state languages of their country of origin on the one hand, and to those of the migration countries on the other.

5. Romani: Challenging the odds

Romani arrived in Europe as an Indic dialect as the Romani people were deported from their original homeland and transported as slaves to the Byzantine Empire in the early Middle Ages. It has retained the basic morphological and lexical structure common to the North-Indic languages, though experiencing some unique innovations and considerable syntactic and lexical influence form the Balkan languages. For centuries the Roma have remained a persecuted, discriminated and impoverished people throughout the European continent. Literacy was, until this century, unknown to Romani culture, and oral tradition was the only cultural bind for Europe's largest non-territorial minority.

First attempts to use Romani as a written language began in the Soviet Union during the 1920's and 1930's, as part of a general policy promoting minority language use. Upon state initiative an educational institute was established in order to qualify teachers, and phonetic research was intended to help unify orthographic norms for school usage. A number of publications appeared and there was a growing language movement active in education, film, theater and translations (cf. Puxon 1981). However, Romani standardization in the Soviet Union remained isolated and unknown outside the country. The Romani language movement in the Soviet Union perished as a result of the Romani Holocaust during World War II.

After the war, written Romani emerged again as a poetic language of Romani intellectuals mostly in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. A coordinated language movement was not established until 1971, when the International Romani Union was founded in London. For the last two decades, until very recently, written Romani was used exclusively by a circle of several dozen linguists, intellectuals and activists connected to the International Romani Union. Some of them, such as Ian Hancock, Marcel Cortiade, Jusuf Šaip and others, have been engaged both in descriptive and in normative linguistic activity. At its conferences, the International Romani Union discussed drafts for a unified alphabet to be used in correspondence, in literature, dictionaries, grammars and bible translations. The journal "Roma" connected with the International Union has only occasionally published poems and several summaries of contributions in Romani since its establishment in 1974. There are only several dozen publications in Romani, contrasting with many hundred works about the language. In Yugoslavia there is a somewhat more extensive use of written Romani, partly inspired by weekly radio and television broadcasts. There is also a number of school

books and child as well as adult literacy programs in Sweden, Norway and recently also in Hungary.

A new phase in the standardization of the Romani language is currently beginning with the emergence of Romani political and civil rights organizations in both Eastern and Western Europe. Since 1989 there has been more extensive correspondence between the unions as attempts to coordinate and unify Romani civil rights activities across Europe increase. There is a number of periodicals and news bulletins published partly in Romani and an increasing number of leaflets and letters adressed to the member population of Romani unions in their mother tongue. On the whole, conventions for orthography are based on those of the respective state language. This fact often imposes great efforts on the part of adressees in order to follow international correspondence and it tends to restrict the distribution of publications to the national level.

All Roma are bilingual, but only a minority among European Roma are actively literate. Romani culture has until now been strictly oral. In fact, many Romani communities fear language standardization as it might facilitate access to the community on the part of non-Roma, especially on the part of administration officials aiming to continue traditional supervision and harassment measures against the Roma. Indeed, Romani literacy is now emerging as a function of changing attitudes toward cultural and political needs, trying to promote political and cultural self-organization in the various countries and in Europe as a whole (cf. Hancock, forthcoming). As is the case for Kurdish, Romani literacy is thus based on active literacy in at least one other language (and therefore restricted to intellectuals) and it correlates with nationalist or rather with civil rights activities.

Spreading Romani literacy among the majority of European Roma might at the moment seem illusory, given that this majority is still often denied access to the very basic forms of education and qualifications. The political and social situation of the Roma at present hardly enables the majority of them to approach the institutional frameworks needed to acquire literacy, and the existing Romani institutions lack the means and resources needed in order to expand their activities. Further development is dependent upon the chance the intellectual elite will have to establish its own cultural autonomy as non-territorial minorities in Europe. It seems that many years of tiring and frustrating agitation aimed at the non-Romani majority population and its administration will be required in order to achieve basic recognition as a cultural and linguistic minority.

6. Towards a typology of non-official standardization

6.1 Why standardize ? Shifting from oral to literate tradition

Fishman (1989) points out the close connection between the standardization of ethnic minority languages and the need or motivation for authenticating linguistic heritage and linguistic behavior. Standardization is connected to the process of modernization, which is often pursued by nationalism, given the change in social structures and identification patterns and the need to consolidate a broader common denominator in society. Now, this process is in a certain sense circular, since nationalism, once triggered by modernization, often aims at returning to the origin or to ethno-cultural

"purity". Its linguistic or sociolinguistic correlative is in this case language maintenance, at least in those instances, in which modernization threatens to promote language shift and consequent language loss, and where language maintenance must be secured through organized initiative.

In all three languages examined there seems to be no direct "danger" of complete language loss. Before the Holocaust, Yiddish had survived many centuries of language contact since its function within the Jewish community was well defined. Industrialization and migration into the urban centers established a Jewish migrant working class which was not yet sufficiently familiar with the majority, non-Jewish language - Polish, Russian, Hungarian, etc. - to be able to participate actively in daily social and political affairs. With the emergence of this Yiddish-speaking, urban, Jewish working class there arose a need for a secular press in Yiddish. It was the deeply rooted literary tradition of European Jewish communities that motivated the first initiatives in this domain, for it seemed unacceptable not to have a written communication medium serving the alienated first generation of urban migrants. Hebrew, the traditional written medium, could no longer assume this function, as proletarization changed educational structures: Workers did not have the time or the resources to afford many years of intensive religious schooling needed in order to acquire literary competence in the sacral language.

The Roma, whose social segregation continues until this very day, have retained their language as the main vehicle carrying cultural experience, though certain dialects have been subject to extensive influence and borrowings from contact languages. Formal education, however, has always been conducted in the state language and the domains relating to it have not entered Romani. Written communication within the Romani community is rare or practically non-existant. Literacy is rather restricted to interaction with the majority administration and the majority culture, using the majority language. Literate Roma thus practice their literacy only outside their own speech and cultural group. They may have not assimilated, but much of their experience is made and "stored" in the second language (cf. Hancock, forthcoming).

Linguistic assimilation in Kurdistan - we will restrict the following evaluation to the Kurmanji variety spoken in Turkish and Syrian Kurdistan, since it is the Kurdish written language of these areas (the "Hawar" variety) which never received official recognition - is common among second-generation immigrants into the non-Kurdish cities, both in the western parts of Turkey and in Europe. In Turkey and in Syria, adopting the state language as the primary language is thought to be approved of by the majority and its institutions and is thus connected with improving one's chances for success. In Europe, many immigrant families from Turkish-Kurdistan adopt Turkish as the primary family language in order to enable their children to interact with the official authorities of their country of origin, should they wish to or be forced to return. Linguistic assimilation also partly affects intellectuals who have widened their educational horizons in a second language and are unable to discuss, to transmit or to develop their new ideas in their native vernacular. Kurdish students, for example, usually code-switch into Turkish as soon as the subject of conversation involves knowledge or techniques acquired within majority institutions (cf. Redder & Rehbein 1987).

Rather than preserve the *oral* language from being lost to the community as a whole, standardization in the cases examined is intended to broaden the domains of native

language use to include those functions occupied traditionally by the state or majority language. In this sense standardization aims at integrating the creativity of literate intellectuals into the native community, rather than "losing" them to the majority. At the same time it also attempts to introduce new cultural activities and attitudes into the speech community itself.

Introducing literacy into a language with only an oral tradition involves a certain shift in cultural values and an extension of cultural activity. In the case of Yiddish this meant challenging traditional rabbinical authority and its rigid educational structures restricting written communication within the community to religious affairs. In the case of Romani the notion of a "secret language" protecting the community from outside control is gradually giving way to a new form of overt, institutionalized community protection. Civil rights activists are trying to promote the use of Romani as a written language in order to facilitate and elaborate international communication between their unions. Along with this process there is a tendency to reject the traditional authority of community leaders whose power consisted of the oral recognition granted by the non-Romani administration, and to elect a new political leadership whose authority is based on popular support for a formulated political platform. For example, a ten-page document - one of the first programatic documents written in Romani - was presented as a motion at the first conference of the European Romani Federation "EUROM" in November 1990.

The Kurmanji-Kurdish experience provides a parallel case, manifesting efforts on the part of the elite of exile intellectuals to establish a new cultural dialog with their community on the basis of new social and political ideas which the elite itself acquired outside its native community. In the following section we shall look more closely at the tasks assumed by bicultural intellectuals in language standardization processes beyond state institutions.

6.2 *The task facing bilingual literates*

On August 30th, 1908 the famous Conference on the Status and Standardization of the Yiddish Language began in Chernovitz, the capital of Bukovina (now USSR). The meeting's initiator was Nathan Birnbaum (1864-1937). Born and raised in Vienna, his native language was German. After completing law school in Vienna in 1887, Birnbaum became an active journalist. In the early years of his career he was a devoted Zionist; it was Birnbaum who introduced the (German) term "Zionism" ("Zionismus") to designate the young movement. During the 1880's and 1890's he published the periodical "Selbst-Emanzipation" in Vienna. He finally parted with Zionism because of its rejection of Jewish diaspora-culture.

Birnbaum regarded Eastern European Judaism and especially its language, Yiddish, as an authentic expression of Jewishness. A modernized Yiddish language, he believed, would provide protection from assimilation pressures. The Yiddish language ought therefore to be expanded and standardized. Birnbaum himself first had to learn Yiddish. In 1904 he began publishing articles in Yiddish, and between 1908 and 1911 he lived in Chernovitz, where he edited the periodicals "Dos Folk" and "Dokter Birnboyms Voxnblat". He held his talk at the Chernovitz conference in Yiddish, but welcomed the guests to the banquet in German (see Fishman 1980:53). Birnbaum (who taught himself the Central-Eastern Yiddish dialect!) was not the only "Yiddishist" who had to study the language. Another example is Vladimir Medem

(1879-1923), a prominent politician in the "Bund" movement (cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1972:1175-1176).

The biographies of Birnbaum and Medem may be extreme with regard to their command of the Yiddish language and their motivation for acquiring it and promoting its use. Nevertheless, modern education attained outside the Yiddish-speaking environment can almost be considered as the common denominator of many of the activists of the Yiddish language movement. Max Weinreich, co-founder of the YIVO, received his degree at the German University of Marburg; Mordkhe Schaechter, a prominent representative of YIVO's younger generation, submitted his dissertation at the German-speaking University of Vienna. These are only a few examples for the way standardization emerges as a function relating modern education, science and thinking to "authentic" or native tradition, applying to the native vernacular the tasks normally restricted to recognized national standards. Individuals who are familiar with both the native and the outside environment form an intellectual elite which is capable of transmitting and transferring experience and knowledge.

The Kurdish language reformer Celadet Ali Bedir Xan was born in Istanbul in 1893 into a respected family originating from Cizre in the district of Botan on the Turkish-Syrian border. The Bedir Xan family had led several uprisings against the Ottoman rule in their region in the middle of the 19th century. When the Ottoman emperor Sultan Abdul Hamid II took power, he introduced a new reconciliation and integration policy toward the Kurdish notables. Members of the most influencial Kurdish families were educated in Istanbul and assumed important positions within the Ottoman administration (cf. Kendal 1984). In exchange for their loyalty to the Islamic-Ottoman state, they were granted greater freedom of cultural activity. Living in the diaspora, either as students or as civil servants, the Bedir Xans were introduced to the ideas of European national movements and to the concepts of modern national and cultural self-determination. They began to publish bilingual Turkish-Kurdish periodicals in which they tried to encourage their countrymen to apply some of these ideas to their own native land, Kurdistan.

This family enterprise was passed on to the brothers Celadet and Kamuran, who were driven into exile after the establishment of the new nationalist Turkish Republic in 1922. During the following decades Celadet and Kamuran both published a number of periodicals as well as grammars of the Kurdish language (Celadet's main work, "Grammaire Kurde", was published in Paris after his death by Roger Lescot; see Bedir Khan & Lescot 1970), based on their own Ceziri or Botani dialect and introducing a new alphabet using Latin characters. Its close affinity to the modern Turkish alphabet ensured at least its passive comprehensibility to Kurdish intellectuals educated in the only official language of the republic, Turkish.

The Kurdish language was thus experiencing a growing inventory of both structural descriptions based on modern linguistic methods and a political press operating as an informative as well as agitating medium. It was not until the mid 1960's that such media were imported back into Turkish Kurdistan itself by an elite of political activists who were inspired by and involved in the emergence of a left-wing opposition movement in Turkey. Reluctant to draw the attention of the larger Turkish opposition groups to the specific cultural and social oppression in Kurdistan, a number of activists left their organizations and established their own Kurdish

federations and political parties. Still following similar agitation strategies, they began to distribute printed material in Kurdish, hoping to mobilize popular resistance to government measures. Clandestine political mass media also inspired cultural creativity, and a small number of literary works, grammars, dictionaries as well as traditional prose was printed (see Badıllı 1965, Anter 1967, Şemo 1977, inter alia). The distribution of such material became more difficult after the military seized power in March 1971, and was stopped altogether after the second coup d'état in September 1980.

Now based in Western European exile, distribution of such popular printed material in Kurdish mainly follows the same pattern. Nearly all of it is published by political federations aiming at mobilizing the Kurdish immigrant population for its cause. The editorial staffs of the periodicals involved consist of bilinguals, who have usually become engaged in opposition activity while studying either at a Turkish (or Syrian) university, or abroad, and who were politicized - at least the older generation - in a non-Kurdish environment. Courses in Kurdish literacy are offered almost exclusively as part of the political activities of these exile federations, which is also the case with regard to any distribution of printed material in Kurdish: Books and periodicals, whether strictly political or literary, are introduced and sold at political gatherings.

In most European countries Kurdish immigrant federations have so far not been successful in persuading authorities to grant Kurdish immigrant children the opportunity to enjoy native language instruction within the official school network. Only in Sweden, where native language instruction is a constitutional right, do such programs exist. But even there, instruction material is very scarce. Most of it is therefore a product of the personal initiative of bilingual teachers prepared to translate or at least to adapt the concepts of existing majority-language textbooks in order to teach Kurdish. The small number of "professional" Kurdish authors, i.e. those who have been engaged in extensive literary activity for some years now and whose works are both original and reflect a rather "authentic" Kurdish tradition and way of life, are usually only known to Kurdish intellectuals already engaged in cultural or political activities. Thus, there is an intellectual group "translating" educational and political norms and methods of the literate societies they have met with into Kurdish for popular distribution, and there is a much smaller group catering for the first one and furnishing it with new and "authentic" products of native literacy.

To conclude this section let us briefly look at the role of Romani intellectuals in promoting literacy in this language. On the whole we encounter a similar pattern: Romani culture being strictly oral, the first to write Romani are those who attempt to transfer their experience made in a non-Romani environment in order to enrich their own community culture. Again, the context is that of political or civil rights activities. The first intensive use of written Romani involved the beginning of what Hancock (1988) terms "reunification" attempts on the part of the founders of the International Romani Union. Curiously, most work done on the problems of Romani standardization was not directed toward the Romani population itself, but rather distributed among linguists and interested persons outside the community.

It was not until the beginning of the restructuring period in the Eastern European states that the Roma were able to establish their own unions. These unions now publish periodicals circulated among their member population. Those containing contributions in Romani are all bilingual and most of their material appears in the

state language. Authors are, as in the case of Kurdish, intellectuals many of whom have attended state schools or universities and become politically active within the popular movement for democracy, before turning to establishing a Romani civil rights movement. Romani literacy is still not spread to the Roma as a whole, but mostly to the activists among the unions' members. In some Western European countries, civil rights work among Roma immigrants and refugees from different Eastern European countries relies on Romani as the only common language. Leaflets and news bulletins distributed to the members by the union activists are therefore occasionally written in Romani. Romani unions seeking contact with one another correspond in English or German, sometimes in French, provided translators are available. In many cases, however, union activists choose to write in Romani. Written Romani is thus a minority medium of correspondence even among literate, intellectual Romani activists. However minor the influence of the International Romani Union is among the general Romani population, there is no doubt about the fact that its literary activities reach and inspire union activists across Europe and encourage them to write in their native language.

Looking at the cases discussed, we see that there is a circle of bilingual, bicultural and literate members of non-literate speech communities who have been inspired by techniques of mass distribution of ideas which they have acquired while coming into contact with certain institutions and ideological movements of the majority society. Acknowledging their specific group interests, they try to transmit some of these ideas to their own people, turning to the use of similar means of agitation. The first task after solving some of the most preliminary technical questions such as the choice of a writing system - we will deal with those questions further below - is to allow for the emergence of a permanent circle of individuals promoting native literacy. Members of this circle will then enrich one another's scopes of interests, ultimately establishing a varied inventory of printed material available in the language: press, political literature and manifestoes, and translations. A minority within this circle will try to create a synthesis between literacy and oral native traditions, writing down such cultural assets as folk tales or songs for printed distribution. It is at this point that native literacy becomes qualitatively more firmly installed within the community culture, although we are still dealing with a very small group of actively native-literate persons.

Throughout this process, the bilingual activists involved are concerned both with spreading specific ideas which have to do with community identity, and with spreading the feeling or consciousness of community identity itself via the use of native literacy as a medium. Thus, they face both the challenge of finding the adequate contents to arouse public interest and the task of establishing a distribution network for written material. In this regard the extent to which institutional structures are already available proves to be very significant.

6.3 *The role of institutions*

One must consider two main types of institutionalized promotion of emergent written minority languages. The first involves attaining access to a wide "consumer" or reader population, the second aims at unifying the use of forms in the written variety. Typically, periodicals and radio programs (setting a spoken standard) will show a higher distribution than scientific instruction manuals published by language academies, though the latter will probably involve more careful planning of language

use by professionals. To what degree does popular distribution combine with academic research and unification attempts in the cases we are examining ?

We shall begin with Romani, which shows the youngest and still least developed standardization process. Many - perhaps most - activists who publish in written Romani also participate in the conferences of the International Romani Union and in its debates on unifying Romani orthography, grammar and lexical use. However, they all continue to use a state language-based orthography for Romani in their periodicals because of practical considerations: Since they usually distribute their material on the national level, state language orthography is more accessible to the reader population. A unified Romani orthography is still a hobby shared and practiced by the linguists among the members of the International Union. It cannot be implemented since the International Union does not have any access to mass-communication media.

We already mentioned the role assumed by the Yiddish press and the Yiddish literature in establishing a modern literary Yiddish language. The distribution of written Yiddish in Europe had one main advantage, compared with the case of Romani: Yiddish was the popular medium of instruction in traditional Jewish schools - the "xeyder" (elementary school), the "talmed-toyre" (secondary school) and the "yešive" (institute of religious higher education). However, Yiddish in such schools was only an instrument for transmitting knowledge, not a subject of classes, and it did not receive much attention.

Modern Yiddish schools were established in Eastern Europe following initiatives on the part of the labor movement, especially "Bund" activists. After the First World War the Yiddish educational system of Eastern Europe had its flourishing period: In Ukraine and White Russia there were 1165 Yiddish-speaking schools in the years 1921-1931. As a result of changing language policies in the USSR during the 1930's, the majority of these schools were closed down. In Poland 60 Yiddish elementary schools and 35 nursery schools existed in 1921 in 44 towns. In the same year the Central Jewish School Organization ("Tsentrale yidiše šul-organizatsie" or "Tsišo") was established. By 1929 the organization ran 219 institutions, including 114 elementary schools, 46 nursery schools, 52 evening schools, three secondary schools and a seminar for teachers. Another organization in Poland, the Association for School and Culture ("Šul- un kulturfarband"), ran seven elementary schools. Several dozen schools also provided instruction in Yiddish in the Baltic regions in the early 1930's (cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1972:433-437).

It is unknown whether these schools followed a standard language norm, either that of YIVO or that of the Soviet reform. The Yiddish school movement was dissolved either by changing state policy in the Soviet Union, or else by Nazism and war in the other parts of Eastern Europe. Today, there are several Yiddish schools in the United States, Argentina and Israel. Most of them are traditional schools which provide instruction via Yiddish, but do not teach Yiddish as a subject. Generally, such institutions ignore endeavors to standardize Yiddish orthography. Normative efforts based on the YIVO-norm are still carried out by the Committee for the Implementation of Standardized Yiddish Orthography (CISYO), established in the United States in 1958 (cf. Gold 1977:318-319).

Kurdish already possesses three written varieties based on dialectal differences, each adopting the alphabet of its main contact language. Within the Bedir Xan-based

"Hawar" norm there is still a considerable degree of orthographic and lexical variety, though adopting Bedir Xan's Cizre dialect solves many morphological and lexical problems. It is interesting to note that several orthographic conventions have emerged and have been widely used within the Bedir Xan-based variety in Europe during the past two decades, although they contradict Bedir Xan's own usage (for details see Matras 1989). This is obviously a result of spontaneous exchange between writers and editors over a certain period of time, rather than the implementation of rules offered by an academy, which does not exist. With the basic decision to follow "Hawar", periodicals narrow the scope of possible variation or ambiguity while at the same time distributing and introducing the norm to potential readers and writers. With more detailed problems, however, unification is a gradual and non-systematic process. The Kurdish Institute in Paris is considered to be the most competent authority on language matters, but its suggestions and recommendations usually do not reach the majority of editors in the more widely distributed periodicals.

Returning to Haugen's (1969 [1972]) language planning phases, one may conclude that in standardization processes beyond state institutions there is a disturbance of the logical order of steps taken elsewhere by centralized and publicly authorized agencies. First, norm selection often differs within the speech community, since the implementing institutions - periodicals, publishers and, in the case of Yiddish, the popular school system - do not necessarily wait for a central decision to be taken concerning the choice of a standard variety. Ad hoc codification and implementation thus precedes collective norm selection, stabilization often being neglected altogether. Only later does a small group of "standardizers" meet on their own individual intiative. Its proposals may or may not enrich the process already in progress, but they will certainly not return it to an elementary stage and will therefore not succeed in attaining control over its development.

Second, the authority of groups or institutions assuming the task of norm selection, codification and stabilization on behalf of an entire community does not necessarily rank higher than that of the respective implementing institutions. This results in a constant, rather free and unresolved competition between all sides involved in the standardization process. Academic authority is certainly a respected resource in this competition, but access to a wide public of consumers is likely to have a definite advantage.

Thus, YIVO's norms for Yiddish were largely ignored by authors writing and publishing in the central and southern dialects. The school system was usually run by social and political federations which had their own cultural and academic elite, and there was no place reserved for YIVO in this hierarchy either. In Romani, the diversity of written forms runs almost parallel to the number of authors, assuming each author adopts his or her own regular convention, which is not always the case. Paradoxically, Kurdish, a language manifesting a non-reconcilable gap between three basic literary varieties, also shows greater consistency within the respective norms implemented. This undoubtedly results from the fact that norm selection and codification actually preceded implementation. Variability within the "Hawar" variety is mostly due to the lack of stabilization measures, a phase that was "skipped", since neither clandestine nor exile activity could provide for adequate access to normative guidance. Throughout non-governmental standardization processes, lack of authority restricts the exchange between implementing and stabilizing institutions to a rather peripheral position.

6.4 *Codifying speech: Some technical problems*

The diversity of what we term "basic Kurdish literary varieties" reduces grammatical and morphological variability within each of these varieties. Exile authors aiming at the Bedir Xan norm will nevertheless occasionally deviate from the Cizre dialect while using words uncommon in "Hawar" itself, deriving their spelling from the phonological patterns of the author's own Kurmanji-Kurdish dialect. Thus, even after basic norm selection, writing still involves ad hoc coding of the spoken language, with its implications for the unification versus diversity of linguistic forms. While diversity in written Yiddish is due to the selection of different norms, written Romani entirely follows the pattern of coding the spoken language. Adopting a norm variety versus coding (individual) spoken language is therefore the preliminary essential upon which the development of standardization depends.

Beyond the question of norm selection, languages vary with regard to the extent to which they show dialect diversity. Of our three cases, Yiddish ranks as the lowest on the dialect diversity scale. All its dialects are mutually intelligible; they differ especially in vowel phonology, occasionally in gender and case assignment, in some lexical items and in the use of loanwords borrowed from the various European contact languages. The Kurdish dialects spoken in Turkey and Syria all belong to the northwest Kurdish or west Kurmanji group (with the exception of Zaza, which we regard, however, as a separate language closely related to Kurdish). Despite considerable dialect variation, the Ceziri dialect used in "Hawar" seems intelligible to all speakers. Dialect diversity alone should therefore not pose a serious obstacle to readers not yet familiar with it. Again we have Romani ranking fairly low on the scale of factors influencing the efficiency of standardization: Dialect diversity in Romani can be extreme in just about all domains of grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon). There is also an extensive use of loanwords, especially in the written language, due to cultural borrowing in the domains discussed in writing. Considering that there are also very different contact languages serving as a source for lexical borrowing, diversity of written forms reaches a maximum.

We find the choice of a script correlating with the practical factor of accessibility. The alphabet serving the most accessible form of existing literacy is thus adopted. The most obvious example is that of the different Kurdish written varieties, adopting the alphabet of the respective state languages. Yiddish uses the Hebrew alphabet common in the written tradition of all Jewish communities around the world, regardless of their spoken language. Since education and literacy were internal institutions of the Jewish communities, the Hebrew script was the most accessible writing system. Romani uses different orthographic conventions, but in international correspondence it is always the Roman script that is chosen due do its wide distribution in Europe and the Americas.

The relationship of phoneme and grapheme is subject to greater creativity on the part of individual authors. Regardless of the orthographic conventions they use as an orientation, Romani writers mark the aspirated counterparts of non-aspirated voiceless stops by adding the grapheme *h*. Since no other European language, with the exception of Albanian, possesses such a phonological distinction, we may consider this to be an original Romani innovation based on the writers' intuition of phonological structure and graphic availabilities. Kurdish exile authors have added to the Bedir Xan norm the characters /rr/, marking a rolled (as opposed to a flapped)

phoneme /r/, and /'/ , representing a voiced pharyngal fricative. On the other hand, retaining diglossia in the writing system of Yiddish by keeping to the Hebrew spelling of words of Hebrew origin runs contrary to phonological intuition. Nevertheless, it is grammatical (lexical) knowledge and consciousness of literary tradition and etymology that stimulate authors in this case.

Finally, the conflicts around the issue of lexical innovation symbolize more than any other debates the way in which language movements are caught between modernization and nationalism, between importing techniques and cultural values from a contact environment and maintaiing purity or authenticity. For the Yiddish language movement, asserting the independence of Yiddish from the closely related German language was at the top of its agitation priorities. Nevertheless, modern terms were borrowed from German as Yiddish became the language of mass-communication media. This process may have been compensated for to a certain extent by the presence of an "authentic" Hebrew vocabulary, which avails Yiddish of a permanent special inventory for lexical borrowings.

Kurdish authors from the Turkish part of Kurdistan attempt to resist Turkish lexical borrowings common in their spoken language. This often results in an increase in the presence of Arabic or Persian loanwords, which are felt to be more "authentic" since their presence in Kurdish preceded intensive language contact with modern Turkish. Taking a decision for a potential inventory of loanwords is thus affected by emotional attitudes and personal experience with the respective contact language. In Romani, building abstract nouns from adjectives and compound nouns through complex genitive constructions uncommon in the spoken language gradually renders a distinct literary style. Such innovations are usually spontaneous, i.e. not planned, and intelligible to all readers. In debates on lexical borrowings proposals range from simply regulating the orthography of European loanwords to consciously introducing "authentic" Sanskrit terminology (cf. Joshi 1991).

6.5 *Comparing background conditions, motivation and outcome*

In the previous section we showed that a comparison of codification procedures should take into account the following factors: dialect variety and mutual intelligibility in the language concerned, norm selection versus coding the spoken language as the adopted procedure, the accessibillity of writing systems, the relationship between phonological intuition and graphic availabilities, and finally the status of contact languages in the conflict between "modern" and "authentic" language usage. In this section we summarize some of the most important background factors influencing the process of standardization beyond state agencies by relating them to a comparative scale for standardization assessment:

1. *Dispersion of the speech community*
   - Yiddish: Diaspora
   - Kurdish: Oppressed majority, exile
   - Romani: Diaspora

2. *Presence of literacy in the cultural tradition*
   - Yiddish: Widely spread
   - Kurdish: Only the religious elite
   - Romani: Non-existent

3. *Degree of non-native literacy*
   Yiddish: In the religious-sacral language
   Kurdish: Only young generation
   Romani: Minority among young generation

4. *Role of modernization in promoting native literacy*
   Yiddish: Urbanization and need for secular mass-communication
   Kurdish: Contact with European nationalist movements and with opposition
   Romani: Democratization and institutionalized self-organization

5. *Role of nationalism in promoting native literacy*
   Yiddish: National workers' movement
   Kurdish: Clandestine and exile resistence
   Romani: Coordinated civil rights movement

6. *Institutional use of native literacy*
   Yiddish: Press, political parties, schools, theater
   Kurdish: Exile federations
   Romani: Civil rights unions

7. *School instruction*
   Yiddish: Partly exstent
   Kurdish: Non-existent (except individual projects)
   Romani: Non-existent (except individual projects)

8. *Unification initiatives*
   Yiddish: YIVO
   Kurdish: Personal initiative (Bedir Xan)
   Romani: International Romani Union

9. *Interaction between academic language unification intiative and implementing institutions*
   Yiddish: Partly existent within the press
   Kurdish: Within "Hawar" both instances unite; later - weak interaction
   Romani: Regular interaction, but with weak effect

10. *Main linguistic domains of variability in the written language*
    Yiddish: Vowel notation, borrowings from contact languages other than Hebrew
    Kurdish: Phonology, word-boundaries, borrowings, lexical innovations
    Romani: Phonology, morphology, lexicon, borrowings, innovations, syntax

7. Summary

In standardization beyond state institutions, language planning deviates from the sequence of steps which can be taken in coordinated standardization processes in order to ensure the effectiveness of normative measures. It is therefore questionable whether one may speak of "language planning" in such cases at all. The popular (non-governmental) emergence of native literacy in non-literate speech communities rather involves parallel interaction and, to a certain extent, even competition between

implementing institutions on the one hand and normative institutions on the other. Whereas implementing institutions are concerned with a wide distribution of both native literacy and specific ideas in order to promote a new form of community consolidation, normative institutions attempt to unify writing conventions. Although there is no apparent contradiction between their respective goals, implementing the drafted norm requires a hierarchical relationship which allows a normative authority to direct the implementing institutions. Such a stable hierarchy, however, does not exist when standardization is a popular enterprise.

The course of the specific standardization process and its outcome are thus largely dependent upon a set of background factors determining its starting position. A careful analysis of such factors may enable us to make at least some general predictions as to the character and the effectiveness of both features of the process - spreading native literacy and implementing a unified norm. Among those factors we have looked at the dispersion of the speech community, the presence of literacy in the cultural tradition, and the degree and function of non-native literacy in diglossic communities. We mentioned the shift in social structures and opportunities (modernization) and the emergence of new institutions and community authorities as factors triggering and promoting the use of native literacy. Political and nationalist movements often turn out to be the carriers of institutional use of a written form of the native language. Upon their initiative, school instruction may be conducted in the language, in which case the distribution of native literacy acquires new dimensions.

The success of unification initiatives is found to depend on the degree of interaction between academic, normative agencies and the implementing institutions. Here too, one must pay attention to linguistic and sociolinguistic conditions: Normative variety selection will provide greater consistency in the written language than simply coding spoken language, though in cases of mutual incomprehensibility and extreme dialect variety in the language concerned access to such a norm may be more difficult. Apart from the "technical" problems of codification - norm selection, the choice of a writing system, orthography and lexical innovation - popular standardization faces a special challenge trying to spread native literacy. Conditions being those of a non-territorial minority or a majority denied the right to promote its own culture and language, spreading native literacy is most difficult to coordinate.

Again we must point to the status literacy and especially institutionalized literacy enjoys in the community. The Jewish communities always cultivated a literary tradition based on the role of the Hebrew scriptures in everyday community life. Literacy as such was not a luxury, but rather a convention. This convention was retained, but following social changes, a growing number of people could no longer afford to master the grammar and the entire lexicon of a second language in order to acquire literacy. This led to the choice of the Hebrew script to represent the spoken language. In the non-literate cultures discussed, Kurdish and Romani, the acquisition of literacy is connected to the acquisition of the state language and thus dependent upon access to the majority culture and its institutions. Native language literacy is promoted by a small elite operating at first within the cultural framework of the majority society. Spreading native literacy therefore involves transmitting at least certain elements of a foreign culture. As the institutional conditions for doing so are usually not available, native literacy is restricted to the context of nationalist or civil rights acitivities.

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